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## **Relations of Hadas with Mughal Emperors**

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# Preface

Rajputana in the medieval period of Indian History, witnessed the emergence of a few Rajput clans as ruling power. The prominent among them were the Sisodias of Mewar, Rathors of Marwar and Bikaner, Kachhawahas of Amber and the Hadas of Bundi and Kotah. While the ruling houses of Mewar, Marwar, Bikaner and Amber have attracted the attention of the historians, so far no work has been done on the Hadas of Bundi and Kotah who ruled over the region known in Rajputana as Hadauti. The aim of the present work is, therefore, to study the history of the Hada Rajputs with all its aspects—their origin and role in the history of Rajputana as an independent states; their relations with the Mughals before and after submission and their position and status in the Mughal Court vis-a-vis the other Rajput chiefs.

Though the material available on the subject is scattered and scanty, yet contemporary and near contemporary Persian as well as Rajasthani sources provide sufficient information to construct the history of the Hadas. The present study is an effort towards this end. The information provided in the sources or the views expressed by different scholars have been properly examined before taking cognisance.

The basis of the present work is my Ph.D. thesis on *Mughal-Rajput Relations from Akbar to Aurangzeb—with special reference to the Hadas* approved by the Bhagalpur University. The topic was suggested by my teacher, Late Dr. U. N. Day

of the Department of History, Delhi University. The research on the subject was undertaken under the guidance of Professor Panchanand Mishra, Head of the Department of History, Bhagalpur University. I owe my gratitude to him for his able guidance but for whom the work could not have been completed. I am also indebted to my teacher, Dr. H. C. Verma, Reader in the Department of History, University of Delhi who helped me in the shape of criticism, suggestions and often helping me in understanding the difficult Persian passages. I also express my sincere gratitude to Dr. K. Maitra, Deputy Secretary, I.C.H.R. who helped and encouraged me for doing this work.

I am also thankful to the members of the staff of the Library of Delhi and Rajasthan Universities, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Rajasthan Archives, Dr. Raghbir Singh's library at Sitamau, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi and to Shri Kalyan Singh, A.D.C. of Ex-Maharao of Kotah.

I am also thankful to Mr. Sanjay Arora of Deputy Publications for taking pains in the publication of the present work.

Delhi  
the 29th September, 1985

R. S. Mathur

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# Background (1341-1568 A.D.)

The Chauhans—an important clan of the Rajputs, ruled over Ajmer for a long time. After the death of Vakpatiraja, the Chauhans were divided into various groups and, being good fighters, they established independent principalities in the area they occupied. Vakpatiraja was succeeded by his son Simharaja at Ajmer, but his second son Lakshman left his ancestral home and came to Nadol<sup>1</sup> where he established his independent kingdom sometime in 943 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of the Chauhans of Nadol. The descendants of Lakshman ruled over Nadol for about two centuries. In 1197

1. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 100; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 103-4; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ix (New Edition, 1908), 79; *Medieval Hindu India*, ii, 96; *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, ii, 1105; *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, i, 223;—*The History of the Chahamanas*, 238;—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 56.
2. *Kotah Kajya ka Itihas*, 56, R.B. Singh has fixed the year 950 A.D. as the year of the establishment of Lakshman's rule over Nadol. He has rejected the date 982 A.D. given in the *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, i, 223. However, he too has calculated the date on hypothetical basis vide *History of the Chahamanas*, 238.

A.D. when Qutbuddin Aibek invaded this region Jaitrasimha the then ruler of Nadol could not stand the attack and, being defeated, fled from the battle-field<sup>3</sup>, and what happened to him afterwards is precisely not known. After the loss of Nadol, the Chauhans of the region moved towards Bhinmal.<sup>4</sup> Manik Rae, a son of Jaitrasimha, occupied the region and extended his territories up to Bhainsrod. Subsequently, he conquered Bambavada and made it his capital.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in the south-east of Mewar another branch of the Chauhans was established. The Chauhans of Nadol who settled themselves at Bambavada subsequently came to be known as 'Hadas'.

Opinions differ on the issue of the adoption of the clan-name 'Hada' as well as regarding the name of the founder of this branch.

Tod traces the origin of the term 'Hada' to the two vernacular words "Har" and "Had" which mean 'lost' and 'bone' respectively. In tracing this origin Tod depends on the bardic stories weaved around the names of Ishtpal and Sorabai. He has narrated two versions. According to one, Ishtpal recovered from the wounds with the help of Sorabai through the blessings of the goddess Ashapurna, considered as the guardian goddess of the race. The other relates that the disintegrated bones of Ishtpal were collected by Sorabai which was brought back to life by the goddess Ashapurna.<sup>6</sup> Kaviraj

3. *Tajul Massir*, tr. S.H. Askari, 87; Raverty—*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, i, Note p. 521; *The History of the Chahamanas*, 262; *The Dynastic History of Northren India.*, 1122-23; *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, i, 302.
4. *Nadol Inscription*; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 56.
5. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 56.
6. "...His (Anuraj, the son of Manik Rae) son Ishtpal, together with Agunraj, son of Ajey-Rao, the founder of Keechpoor Patun in Sind-Sagur, was preparing to seek his fortunes with Rundheer Chohan, prince of Gowalcoond: but both Asi and Golconda were almost simultaneously assailed by an army 'from the wilds of Gujlibund.' Rundheer performed the saka;

(Contd.)

Shymal Das has accepted the version of Tod while dealing with the Hadas.<sup>7</sup> The entire narration of Tod, however, contains a number of statements which indicate the spuriousness of his theory. First of all, Tod states that Anuraj was attacked by Mahmud of Gazni in 1025 A.D., but Anuraj ruled over Ajmer in 1135 A.D.<sup>8</sup> i.e., after about a century of Mahmud's invasion. Secondly, Anuraj was succeeded by his son Jagadeva<sup>9</sup> and we do not find mention of Ishtpal as son of Anuraj in any other evidence. Thirdly, Tod mentions that Ishtpal held Asir which lay in Madhya Pradesh as has been already pointed out by Gahlot.<sup>10</sup>

and only a single female, his daughter, named Soorahbae, survived, and she fled for protection towards Asi, then attacked by the same furious invader. Anuraj prepared to fly; but his son, Ishtpal, determined not to wait the attack, but seek the foe. A battle ensued, when the invader was slain, and Ishtpal, grievously wounded, pursued him till he fell, near the spot where Soorahbae was awaiting death under the shade of a *peepul*: for 'hopes of life were extinct, and fear and hunger had reduced her to a skeleton.' In the moment of despair, however, the *ashtra* (*peepul*) tree under which she took shelter was severed and Asapurna, the guardian goddess of her race, appeared before her. To her, Soorahbae related how her father and twelve brothers had fallen in defending Golconda against 'the demon of Gujlibund'. The goddess told her to be of good cheer for that a Chohan of her own race had slain him, and was then at hand; and led her to where Ishtpal lay senseless from his wounds. By her aid he recovered, and possessed himself of that ancient heirloom of the Chohans, the famed fortress of Aser."—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 368.

According to another story narrated by him "His (Ishtpal's) limbs which lay dismembered, were collected by Soorahbae, and the goddess sprinkling them with "the water of life," he arose—Tod—*op. cit.*, 368 fn. 3. Tod identifies 'the demon from Gujlibund' as Mahmud of Gazni vide *op. cit.*, 369.

7. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 105.
8. *The History of the Chahamanas.*, 133.
9. *ibid.*
10. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 40.

Some modern historians of Rajasthan maintain that Har Raj, son of Vijyapal and sixth in descent from Manik Rae of Bambavada, conquered Pathar region and established himself there. His descendants came to be known as 'Hadas'. In other words, they trace the origin of the 'Hadas' from Har Raj.<sup>11</sup>

Of course, among the Rajputs there prevailed a common practice of tracing their tribe or clan name from person (or ancestor), but it is equally true that they often adopted their tribal name after the name of the area they settled in. The best example of the case is that of the 'Sisodias'. In the present case Pathar region also called as Had was occupied by Manik Rae and not by Har Raj. He only succeeded to his ancestral lands, being sixth in the line of descent from Manik Rae. In the absence of any positive evidence, it is not possible to state whether this branch of the Nadol Chauhans adopted the name after Har Raj or after the word 'Had' indicating the region occupied by them. However, it may be argued that as Har Raj was not the founder of the dynasty, 'Hadas' might not have adopted the name after him. But as they occupied a region which was a rocky plateaux called 'Had' in Rajasthan, they came to be known as 'Hadas' subsequently after their occupation of the area. Since Manik Rae established himself in that region he should be regarded as the founder of this branch of the Chauhans which became distinct from other branches of the Chauhans of Nadol).<sup>12</sup>

Manik Rae was succeeded in succession by Sambharana, Jaitrao, Anangrao, Kuit Singh, Vijyapal, Har Raj. Har Raj was succeeded by Rainsi who in turn was succeeded by

11. *Nadol Inscription*;—*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 240, fn. 1; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ix (New Edition, 1908), 79; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 56; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 39.
12. As the Chauhans of Nadol were a branch of the Chauhans of Ajmer, Tod considers the Hadas also as a branch of Chauhans of Ajmer—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 355.

Kolun.<sup>13</sup> The history of the 'Hadas' up to 'Kolun' is obscure.

Kolun was succeeded by his son Rao Bangoo who inherited the territories of Bambavada and Mynal. The Rao was energetic and a powerful ruler. He conquered many territories and erected a fortress in Bambavada. During his reign the kingdom comprised Bhainsrod in the east, Bambavada and Mynal in the west. The territories of Mandalgarh, Bijoli, Ratangarh and Choraitgarh formed the part of his dominion.<sup>14</sup>

Rao Bangoo had twelve sons. The eldest was Rao Dewa. It was he who established the 'Hada' rule over Bundi which was then under the control of the Meenas. Historians differ regarding the date and the manner of Rao Dewa's occupation of Bundi.

We may first examine in which year Rao Dewa established his rule over Bundi. On this issue too, historians have put forth two different opinions. According to Surya Mal Misrn, the Hada Chief established his rule over Bundi in 1241

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13. According to Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 369) Ishtpal, the founder of the Hada dynasty, was succeeded by Hammir who died fighting alongwith his brother Gumbir from the side of Prithviraj Chauhan in some battle. His successor was Chund who died fighting against Alauddin Khilji. Rainsi succeeded Rao Chund and his successor was Kolun. The chronology given by Tod is defective. We know that Prithviraj Chauhan was defeated and imprisoned by Mohammad Ghori in 1192 A.D. It means Hammir and Gumbir must have died by 1192 A.D. Alauddin Khilji's reign began in 1296 A.D. How could it be possible that Rao Chund, the immediate successor of Hammir remained alive for over 100 years to fight with Alauddin?

Gahlot's statement is self contradictory. At one place (p. 40) he says that Rao Ratan or Rainsi was the first ruler of Pathat who was succeeded by Rao Kolun; and at the same time he mentions Har Raj as the founder of the Hada dynasty in the Pathar which means that he was the first ruler of the house.

14. Tod, ii, 370,

A.D.<sup>15</sup> which has been accepted by M. L. Sharma.<sup>16</sup> Tod, on the other hand, says that Rao Dewa displaced the Meenas and established his rule over Bundi in 1341 A.D.<sup>17</sup> Modern historians like Ojha, Gahlot and Harbilas Sarda have followed the date given by Tod.<sup>18</sup> This date has also been mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.<sup>19</sup> These two dates, however, are about a century apart and therefore, deserve scrutiny.

We have already discussed that Manik Rae established himself in Bambavada in 1197 A.D. Rao Dewa was the tenth ruler in the line. Thus nine rulers had preceded him. For the purpose of a rough calculation if we take fifteen years as the average rule of each ruler the accession of Rao Dewa comes to 1332 A.D. or near about. He must have occupied Bundi sometime after his accession to the *gaddi* of Pathar region. Therefore, it leads to the conclusion that Rao Dewa occupied Bundi in 1341 A.D.

We can also calculate the date of Rao Dewa's occupation of Bundi from the year of accession of Rao Bairi Sal. He is stated to be the sixth ruler of Bundi. There is a consensus of all the historians that he ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1413 A.D. If we accept 1241 A.D. as the year of establishment of Hada rule over Bundi, it would imply that five rulers before the accession of Rao Bairi Sal ruled for 172 years with an average of 35 years, which becomes difficult to be accepted. The reason being that those who accept 1241 A.D. as the year of occupation of Bundi by Rao Dewa, mention that of these five rulers, Rao Dewa ruled for two years; Rao Narpal for one year, Rao Hammir and Rao Vir Singh for very short periods approximately for fifteen years each. Thus, out of five rulers, four ruled for 33 years leaving a period of 139 years as

15. *Vansh Bhashkar*, ii, 1626-27.

16. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, 59.

17. Tod ii, 371.

18. *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 241; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, 40; *Maharana Khumbha*, 83.

19. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ix (New Edition, 1908), 79.

the period of the rule of Rao Samar Singh which is not at all possible. Again, those historians who indicate 1241 A.D. as the year of establishment of 'Hada' rule over Bundi also mention that Rao Samar Singh ruled from 1243 to 1303 A.D. when he was killed in a battle against Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316 A.D.). However, the silence of Persian court chroniclers about the conquest of Bundi by the Sultan creates a serious doubt about the validity of this statement. If Bundi had been under an important Rajput Chief, the victory of the Sultan would have been eulogised. If Rao Samar Singh was not in occupation of Bundi in 1303 A.D., his father, Rao Dewa, certainly had not occupied the region by then.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, if we accept 1341 A.D. as the year of Rao Dewa's occupation of Bundi, the chronology of each ruler can be maintained.

The above calculations leads us to conclude that Rao Dewa must have occupied Bundi around 1341 A.D.

After having determined the year of occupation of Bundi by Rao Dewa, we may proceed to examine the manner in which he occupied the place. Bundi was inhabited by the Meenas and Rao Dewa occupied it after ousting them. Different historians have narrated different stories in this connection, drawing conclusion from one or the other bardic version floating in Rajasthan.

According to Surya Mal Misrn, Rao Dewa occupied Bundi during the life-time of his father, Rao Bangoo, which was then ruled by Jaita of the Meena tribe. The Meena Chief wanted to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs,

20. Tod mentions that Alauddin Khilji attacked Bambavada where Rao Chund was killed in the battle. This Rao Chund according to him was one of the predecessor of Rao Dewa in Pathar region. Though we find that there was no ruler of Pathar known as Chund but the description clearly mentions that the Sultan did attack the Pathar region but much before Rao Dewa's accession there.

but as they had some bad customs, none of the Rajputs were willing to establish matrimonial relations with them. Jaita who was very powerful harboured such a desire and he proposed to have his son married to the daughter of Rao Dewa. Rao Dewa not then quite powerful, was in a fix as he could neither turn down the proposal of Jaita, nor he was willing to marry his daughter into the family of Jaita. In that predicament Rao Dewa sought the help of Jasraj Chauhan. The two decided to destroy the Meena Chief. Rao Dewa then sent a message to Jaita that if he was prepared to give up the bad customs, the daughter of Jasrai Chauhan could be married to his son. Jaita accepted the proposal.<sup>21</sup> Rao Dewa with the help of Jasraj Chauhan made arrangements for the reception of the marriage party. Beneath the place of reception, gunpowder was placed. After the arrival of the marriage party, liquor was served to them. When they became dead drunk, the gunpowder was set on fire. This resulted in killing most of the Meenas. Those who survived were put to sword. Rao Dewa then moved to Bundi and occupied it.<sup>22</sup>

Writing in the seventeenth century, Nainsi has associated with it a number of stories which were current during his time. The first story narrated by him is somewhat similar to the one mentioned by Surya Mal Misrn. In this Nainsi mentions that Jaita wanted to marry the daughter of a brahmin. The brahmin, who was reluctant to accept the proposal, approached Rao Dewa for help. Rao Dewa then destroyed the Meenas in the manner as mentioned by Surya Mal Misrn.<sup>23</sup>

M. L. Sharma and Gahlot have rejected these stories on the ground that gunpowder was unknown in India before Babur's invasion.<sup>24</sup> But this argument is hardly justified because we find use of gunpowder in India even in the early

21. *Vansh Bhashkar*, ii, 1624.

22. *ibid.*

23. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 97.

24. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas* i, 58; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, iii, 42.

medieval period.<sup>25</sup> In these narratives we find that a hint is thrown that Rao Dewa obtained Bundi during the life-time of his father, which leaves unexplained as to why Rao Bangoo, the father of Rao Dewa, who himself was ambitious and powerful, did not avail of this opportunity of extending his territories. The historians do not mention that Rao Dewa had differences with his father and wanted to carve out a separate kingdom for himself. Tod, however, mentions that Rao Dewa succeeded his father in Pathar region which indicate that Rao Dewa did not occupy Bundi during the life-time of his father. The treacherous method adopted by Rao Dewa to destroy Jaita, as mentioned by Surya Mal Misrn and others sounds more like a mythical story than real. It is doubtful if the Rajputs had by then accepted the use of ruse as a means to achieve success.

According to another story, Rao Dewa was married to the daughter of Rana Ari Singh of Mewar. As he was in trouble, he requested the Rana to help him to obtain Bundi from Meenas. With the help of his father-in-law, Rao Dewa ousted the Meenas and established himself in Bundi.<sup>26</sup> This story indicates that Rao Dewa did not possess any territory and was passing his days in hardship. This version suffers from two obvious shortcomings. One that what sort of difficulty Rao Dewa was facing when he had succeeded the *gaddi* of Bambavada. We do not find that he was expelled from his ancestral dominion. Secondly, Ari Singh did not become the ruler of Mewar. After the defeat of his father, Ari Singh remained in exile with him and died in exile. It was his son Hammir who recovered the lost territories and became the ruler of Mewar. He was contemporary of Rao Dewa. Hamir and Dewa being contemporaries, Ojha maintains that it was Rana Hammir who had given help to Rao Dewa in obtaining Bundi.<sup>27</sup> But this is also unlikely as Rana Hammir himself was pre-occupied in establishing himself in Mewar.

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25. *Eliot and Dowson*, vi, Appendix, Note A, 455-82.

26. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 98; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 107.

27. *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 240.

Tod mentions another story which narrates that Rao Dewa became very powerful in Pathar region which attracted the attention of Sikander Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi. Rao Dewa installed his eldest son Har Raj in Bambavada and himself proceeded to the court of Sultan at Delhi with his second son Samarsi. On his return he came to Bando-Nal. This region was inhabited by the Meenas ruled by their Chief Jaita. This community was suffering from the raids of Rao Gangoo, the Kheechi. The Meena Chief entered into agreement with Rao Dewa who promised to save them from Rao Gangoo. The Meenas suspended the tribute that Rao Gangoo used to take. At the appointed hour, he came but did not find the money bag, instead he found Rao Dewa before him. After argument a fierce encounter took place in which Rao Dewa came out victorious. But Rao Gangoo escaped. He crossed the Chambal and appeared on the opposite bank of the river. Rao Dewa was amazed at his reappearance and exclaimed, "Bravo, Rajpoot! Let me know your name." "Gango Kheechie," was the answer. "And mine is Dewa Hara; we are brothers, and must no longer be enemies. Let the river be our boundary."<sup>28</sup> Jaita acknowledged Rao Dewa as his lord. Since the Meenas were outnumbered in Bundi, he adopted barbarous methods to annihilate the Meenas to consolidate his own position there. In that he sought the help of the Hadas of Bambavada and Solankis of Thoda.<sup>29</sup>

Nainsi also relates a story similar to the one narrated by Tod. He mentions that it was Har Raj Dod who used to harass the Meenas. They, therefore, sought help of Rao Dewa who in an encounter defeated Har Raj. Later on they became friends. Rao Dewa after sometime decided to marry his daughter with Har Raj, but the Chief of the Meenas wanted to get married with her. Rao Dewa agreed but he made a plan to annihilate the Meenas. He sought help of Solankis and succeeded in killing the Meenas. He thus brought Bundi under his control.<sup>30</sup>

28. Tod, ii, 371.

29. *ibid*, 372.

30. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 99-100.

The narration of Tod that Rao Dewa became so powerful that Sikandar Lodi invited him to his court is devoid of truth. Because Rao Dewa occupied Bundi in 1341 A.D. and the incident related by him is prior to his taking over Bundi while the reign of Sikandar Lodi began from 1489 A.D. Thus, chronologically, the two were not contemporaries. Besides, none of the Persian historians mentions that Rao Dewa was ever called by any of the Sultans of Delhi. The subsequent narration of Tod regarding occupation of Bundi by Rao Dewa seems to be correct which is in conformity with the narration of Nainsi.

On the basis of the narration of Nainsi and Tod, we can conclude that Rao Dewa succeeded his father to the *gaddi* of Pathar region and inherited large territories comprising of Manrol, Bhainsrod, Mandalgarh, Begoo, Ratangarh, Bambavada and Choraitgarh. But he was very ambitious and wanted to extend his kingdom. He had an eye over Bundi which was ruled by Jaita of Oasarra tribe. He was on the look out for an opportunity which he soon got when he was called upon by Jaita to help him against Rao Gango as Tod says or Har Raj Dod as mentioned by Nainsi. He left his eldest son in Bambavada and marched to Bundi where he succeeded in defeating the enemy. The Meenas, who were pleased with him, acknowledged him as their overlord. Rao Dewa, however, was not satisfied with this as he wanted to annihilate the Meenas and habitat that kingdom with the Hadas. He, therefore, called the forces from Bambavada and also sought help from the Solankis for that task and succeeded in annihilating the Meenas in their own land. He thus established the Hada rule over Bundi.

Thus, we find that Rao Dewa occupied Bundi in 1341 A.D. after killing the Meenas with the help of the Solankis.

Rao Dewa after establishing himself in Bundi moved his arms against the principalities near about Bundi. He attacked Gajmal Gaur and snatched the pargana of Khatpur. Then

he defeated Manhor Das and got Patun. From the Gonds he captured Genoli and Lakheri and from Jaskran he took Karwar.<sup>31</sup>

Surya Mal Misrn mentions that Rao Dewa fought against the army of Nasiruddin Mahmud and defeated it at Lakhari.<sup>32</sup> M. L. Sharma points out that Rao Dewa might have defeated the army of any of the weak brothers of Sultan Raziya as Nasiruddin Mahmud became the Sultan of Delhi in 1246 A.D.<sup>33</sup> The statement of Surya Mal Misrn as well as the note of Sharma may not be taken up seriously because of the following reasons. Rao Dewa occupied Bundi in 1341 A.D. and therefore, he was neither the contemporary of any of the brothers of Raziya nor of Nasiruddin Mahmud. He was a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tugulaq who never attacked Bundi. Besides, the Persian historians do not mention any attack by any Sultan over Bundi. Rao Dewa thus did not come into conflict with any Muslim ruler.

Rao Dewa did not rule for a long period. After establishing the Hadas there he abdicated in favour of his son Samar Singh<sup>34</sup> in 1343 A.D.<sup>35</sup>

Samar Singh, the second son of Rao Dewa ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1343 A.D. He was also energetic and ambitious like his father. Soon after his accession he had to deal with the Bhils who were ruling over Akailgarh.<sup>36</sup> They had

31. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 59;

32. *Vansh Bhashkar*, ii, 1626.

33. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 59, n.3.

34. *Vansh Bhashkar*, ii, 1637; Tod, ii, 373; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 60; *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 101; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 107.

35. All the historians mention that Rao Dewa abdicated in favour of his son Samar Singh two years after obtaining Bundi. As already discussed Rao Dewa occupied Bundi in 1341 A.D. and therefore, he must have given up the *gaddi* in 1343 A.D. This date has been accepted by Gahlot vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 45.

36. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 60-61.

started plundering the Hada territories. Rao Samar Singh marched against them and successfully subdued them.<sup>37</sup> He then attacked the Gaur, Panwar and Med Rajputs and conquered Kaithun, Siswali, Baraud, Relavan, Ramgarh, Mau and Sangod. However, he did not annex all these territories. Their rulers accepted the suzerainty of the Hada Chief who gave them in return their territories<sup>38</sup>.

Rao Samar Singh after establishing his sway over a large number of territories had to march again against Koila Bhil. This time battle took place near Akilgarh. In a fierce battle the Hadas gained victory over Koila and drove him away.<sup>39</sup> In that battle 900 Bhils and 300 Hadas were killed.<sup>40</sup>

Rao Samar Singh after defeating Koila Bhil returned to Bundi. Thereafter, he celebrated the marriage of his son Jaitra Singh with the daughter of the Tanwar Chief of Kaithun. While in Kaithun, Jaitra Singh decided to annihilate the Bhils of Kotah and to make it another centre of the Hadas. Here again, different versions have been given as to the method adopted for the annihilation of the Bhils. According to Surya Mal Misrn, Jaitra Singh expressed his desire to conquer Akilgarh to his father-in-law. With the help of his father and father-in-law, he decided to destroy the Bhils. They were invited at the reception. Beneath the reception place, gunpowder was kept. After their arrival they were served with wine. When they were dead drunk, the gunpowder was made to explode. Most of the Bhils were killed in that explosion and those who survived were put to sword. Their Chief Koila was also killed.<sup>41</sup>

Tod narrates another story according to which Jaitra Singh while returning from Kaithun after his marriage made

37. *ibid.* ; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 833.

38. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1678-79.

39. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1678-79.

40. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 61.

41. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1679.

a surprise attack on the Bhils. A battle between the Hadas and the Bhils took place. The Bhils fought with great valour but the Hadas succeeded in killing their leader. That discouraged the Bhils and the Hadas gained victory over them.<sup>42</sup>

While examining the stories we find that the narration of Surya Mal Misrn appears to be based on the hearsay and not on historical facts. The method of annihilation of the Bhils by Jaitra Singh has been narrated in the same way as that of the Meenas by Rao Dewa. From this narration it appears that such stories had become common with the bards who interpolated them whenever they got an opportunity to introduce the story in their narration. But it is unlikely that such treacherous methods were used at that time by the Rajputs. As such, the story narrated by Surya Mal Misrn is unrealistic and can be discarded. The story, on the other hand, narrated by Tod appears to be realistic and much nearer the truth.

We are not aware of the exact date when Jaitra Singh conquered Kotah from the Bhils except that was conquered during the reign of Rao Samar Singh (1343-1346 A.D.).<sup>43</sup> Kotah then became the part of the dominion of the Hadas. Rao Samar Singh assigned Kotah to Jaitra Singh as his jagir. Subsequently, Kotah occupied an important place alongwith Bundi in the history of the Hadas.

Rao Samar Singh did not rule for a long period. He died in 1346 A.D.<sup>44</sup> after ruling for three years only.

42. Tod, ii, 373.

43. The historians of Rajasthan mention that Jaitra Singh conquered Kotah in 1274 A.D.—*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1679; Sharma M.L.—*op. cit.*, 62-63. Gahlot who has accepted 1341 A.D. as the year of taking Bundi from the Meenas has also followed this year viz., 1274 A.D. vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 35. As already mentioned the Hadas established their rule over Bundi in 1341 A.D. and it was after this that Kotah was conquered. Therefore, it could not have been conquered in 1274 A.D.

44. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 45. It is mentioned that taking advantage of the disturbed condition of Mewar due to Alauddin's invasion Rao Samar Singh captured the fort of Mandalgarh but

Rao Samar Singh left behind three sons—Narpal, Harpal and Jaitra Singh.<sup>45</sup> While the eldest son Narpal became the ruler of Bundi, Harpal got Jujawar and Jaitra Singh received Kotah.<sup>46</sup>

Narpal succeeded to the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1346 A.D. He being also ambitious like his father and grand-father continued the policy of expansion which had been pursued by his ancestors. He first attacked Ropal, the Chief of the Solankis. The Hada Chief was assisted by the Hadas of Kotah under the leadership of his brother Jaitra Singh. The battle was fierce. The Hadas had to face the strong opposition from the Solankis but ultimately they gained victory, though at the cost of the life of Jaitra Singh who fell in the battle-field. Rao Narpal wrested Toda from the Solankis.<sup>47</sup> The Solanki Chief also gave his daughter in marriage to Rao Narpal.<sup>48</sup>

Rao Narpal then turned his attention towards Palaith which was ruled by Mahesh Das Kheechi. Rao attacked him

after a short time Alauddin Khilji conquered it. He also attacked Bambavada and in the battle that ensued Rao Samar Singh died fighting—*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1681-1705; Sharma, M. L.—*op. cit.*, 62-63. The narration of these historians are not correct for two reasons. Firstly, Mandalgarh was already under the possession of the Hadas. Secondly and more important reason is that Rao Samar Singh was not the contemporary of Alauddin Khilji who ruled during 1296-1316 A.D. M. L. Sharma mentions the name of Balban instead of Alauddin Khilji vide p. 63, n. 2. But Balban was also not contemporary of Rao Samar Singh. The contemporary Sultan of Delhi was Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

.45. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 101; Tod, ii 373. According to Gahlot, Rao Samar Singh had four sons—Narpal, Harpal, Jaitra Singh and Dungar Singh vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 45. But Gahlot does not mention the jagir granted to Dungar Singh.

.46. Tod, ii, 373.

.47. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1714-15; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834.

.48. Tod, ii, 374.

but in this battle Rao Narpal was defeated. The defeat at the hands of the Kheechis did not in any way discouraged the Hada Chief. He made a second attempt to conquer Palaith. This time also the Kheechis fought with great valour. However, the Hadas succeeded in killing Pahar Singh which discouraged the Kheechis. They could no longer hold the field and fled away. The Hadas thus achieved victory over the Kheechis. This battle cost the lives of 100 Hada soldiers and 70 Kheechis.<sup>49</sup>

The success of Rao Narpal over the Solankis and Kheechis made his position strong. However, he could not deal with the subsequent troubles successfully. Har Raj Panwar of Shergarh plundered Gagraun and the Hada Chief failed to check him. Rana Hammir of Mewar who was extending his sway over the territories near Mewar also sent a force under his son Kheta against Rao Narpal. In the battle the Hadas fought with great valour but the superior power of the Sisodias prevailed. They were defeated and they sued for peace, and as a price they had to cede the most strategic fort of Mandalgarh to the Rana and to accept the suzerainty of Mewar.<sup>50</sup>

49. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1727; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834.
50. *Bhavnagar Inscription dated V.S. 1485*. We find that the sources like *Kumbhalgarh Inscription* of 1460 A.D.; *Ekilingji Inscription* dated V.S. 1488; G.S. Ojha,—*op. cit.*, 244-45; H.B. Sarda, *Maharana Khumbha*, 4-5; mention that the fort of Mandalgarh was conquered by Maharana Kheta (*Maharana Kumbha*, 24) which means that Kheta conquered the fort after becoming the ruler of Mewar. But Maharana Kheta attacked Bundi only once during his reign and died fighting in 1382 A.D. These sources, not being contemporary, have used the adjective 'Maharana' instead of 'Kunwar'.

Rao Narpal was killed in 1362 A.D.<sup>51</sup> at the hands of his father-in-law Ropal of Toda.<sup>52</sup>

The death of Rao Narpal was followed by the accession of his eldest son Hammir also called as Hamma to the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1362 A.D.<sup>53</sup> Soon after his accession Rao Hammir decided to punish Panwar of Shergarh who had plundered Gagraun during the reign of Rao Narpal. Rao Hammir attacked and subdued them. He then moved against the Chief

51. There is a controversy over the date of the death of Rao Narpal. Surya Mal Misrn and M.L. Sharma mention that the Hada Chief died fighting against Alauddin Khilji in 1304 A.D.—*Vansh Bhashkar* iii, 1787; *Kotah Rajja ka Itihas*, i, 63-64, but as we have already discussed Alauddin Khilji was not a contemporary of any of the Hada Chiefs and therefore, we cannot accept the version of these historians.

The dates given by Gahlot are also confusing. He has given different dates at different places. At one place he mentions Rao Narpal's period from V.S. 1406 to 1427 (1349 to 1370 A.D.) and then writes that he ruled for 24 years. At other place he mentions that Rao died in V.S. 1445 (1388 A.D.) vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 46-47. It is difficult to reconcile these dates.

The correct date of Rao Narpal's rule should be from 1346 to 1362 A.D. because his successor Rao Hammir (Hamma) was for sometime contemporary of Rana Hammir of Mewar who ruled upto 1363 A.D.

52. Tod narrates a story in connection with the murder of Rao Narpal and mentions that : Once when Narpal was in Toda, he liked a marble slab for which he asked his wife to get it from her father. But she refused to do so. The Hada Chief was offended at her behaviour and banished her from his bed. She reported the behaviour of her husband to her father. On the 'Kajuli tees', her father came to Bundi which was unguarded as all the guards had gone to celebrate the festival. Taking advantage of the unguarded state of Bundi, he entered the palace and killed the Hada Chief. But the Toda Chief could not escape from Bundi. On his return he was also killed. The Solanki queen became *sati* with her murdered husband—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 374.

53. According to Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 375) Hammir succeeded his father in Bundi in V.S. 1440 (1383 A.D.) and as per Cahlot (*Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 47) it was in V.S. 1445 (1388 A.D.) that Rao Hammir became the Chief of Bundi but both the dates are wrong. For adopting the year 1362 A.D. see fn.54.

of Siswali who was a feudatory Chief of Bundi. He was trying to assert independence and therefore, Rao Hammir marched against him and succeeded in subduing him.<sup>54</sup>

Rao Hammir also came into conflict with the army of Rana Hammir Sisodia of Mewar. The Hadas had already accepted the suzerainty of the Rana, but they had not reconciled to this humiliation and ever remained in search of an opportunity to throw off the yoke of subordination. However, they did not dare to take up conflict directly. Rao Hammir found an opportunity to fight against the Sisodias when Jaitra Singh Panwar and Bharat Kheechi of Bhanpur attacked Bambavada with the assistance of the Rana. Hallu, the jagirdar of Bambavada had seized some villages of Zeran and Bhanpur. When Hallu went to celebrate his marriage in Shivpur, Jaitra Singh and Bharat Kheechi took advantage of his absence and attacked Bambavada. Rana of Mewar sent the force to assist Sunder Singh, son of Jaitra Singh. It was a direct attack of the Sisodias on the Hada territories. Rao Hammir, therefore, had to come to the assistance of Hallu. In the battle that ensued, Vijyapal, the uncle of the Rana was killed and Kunwar Kheta was injured. This enraged Rana Hammir who decided to march against Hallu personally. Hearing the decision of the Rana, Rao Hammir became perplexed. He knew that his resources did not match with those of the Rana and therefore, sued for peace. He went to the Rana and requested him that it was not advisable for the Rana to attack Hallu. The Rana replied that he wanted to punish him because his uncle was killed and his son had been injured. The Hada Chief then told the Rana that his uncle had been killed at his hands and if the Rana wanted to punish the defaulter, he should punish the Hada Chief. He, however, requested him that instead of shedding the blood of the Rajputs, the differen-

54. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1787; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834. M.L. Sharma mentions the defeat of the Chief of Siswali by Hallu, the successor of Bar Singh which is not correct as Bar Singh or Vir Singh was succeeded by his son Bairi Sal.

ces could be reconciled by the marriage of his grand-daughter (daughter of his eldest son, Lal Singh) with Kunwar Kheta.<sup>55</sup> He also agreed to give six villages in dowry. The Rana agreed to the proposal. Commenting on this proposal Day has rightly observed that "Maharana Hammir seems to have been reconciled with this offer obviously because he could foresee in this arrangement winning of a group of Rajputs on his side."<sup>56</sup>

Rao Hammir after ruling for 16 years<sup>57</sup> abdicated in favour of his eldest son Lal Singh<sup>58</sup> in 1378 A.D.<sup>59</sup> It seems

55. *Vir Vinod*, i. 300-1. Ojha has, however, rejected the story on the ground that it is a fabricated one. Besides, he says that Rana Hammir was the contemporary of Rao Dewa and how the fifth descendant's daughter be married to Kunwar Kheta. Kunwar, was however, was married to the daughter of Har Raj, son of Rao Dewa vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i; 249-50. This Contention of ojha is not correct Maharana Hammir had a long reign of 28 years 1336-1364 AD) whereas the descendants of Rao Dewa did not rule Bundi for a long period. The fourth descendants of Rao Dewa, Rao Hammir (1362-1378) was for some time the contemporary of Maharana Hammir and as such daughter of the fifth descendant of Rao Dewa could be married to the some of Maharana Hammir.

Depending on bardic stories Tod has introduced a story of the destruction of mock Bundi. The entire story falls short of truth because the Rana had only sent a force to assist the Kheechis against Hallu, and had not attacked Bundi himself.

56. *Mewar under Maharana Khumbha*, 11-12

57. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 376.

58. All historians, Viz., Tod, Shymal Das and Gahlot mention that Vir Singh was the eldest son of Rao Hammir, but this not correct Lal Singh was the eldest son of Rao Hammir (Hamma) as appears from the narration of Nainsi at one place where he has discussed the circumstances leading to the conflict between Rana Kheta and Rao Lal Singh Hada (*Nainsi's Khyat* i, 59). He became the ruler of Bundi after the abdication of Rao Hammir. It was only after the death of Lal Singh that his brother Vir Singh became the Chief of Bundi in 1382 A.D.

59. The year of abdication of Rao Hammir has been given differently by different historians. Tod mentions that Rao abdicated in S. 1456 (1399 A.D.) while Gahlot has given S. 1440 (1383 A.D.) as the year of abdication of Rao Hammir. But as Rao Hammir ruled for 16 years as given by Tod, the year of his abdication should be 1378 A.D., being the year of his accession.

that both Rao Dewa and Rao Hammir preferred to retire when their health began to decline. They seem to have been conscious that the disturbed times demanded a ruler who was energetic and agile.

Lal Singh, after having ascended the gaddi of Bundi in 1378 A.D., married his daughter to Maharana Kheta of Mewar. But these relations did not last long. After sometime, conflict between the two houses took place.<sup>60</sup> There are different views regarding the cause of this conflict. According to Tod, Bundi was a vassal state of Mewar but after the invasion of Chittor by Alauddin, Mewar control was weakened, and it assumed independence. Mewar, after the death of Alauddin Khilji recovered its power and desired to bring Bundi under its control. Bundi although acknowledged the supremacy of Mewar, refused to accept "unlimited attendance". This enraged the Maharana of Mewar who attacked Bundi.<sup>61</sup> The reasons given by Tod is contradictory in itself with his earlier statement that the Hadas conquered Bundi in 1341 A.D. We find that the Hadas acknowledged the supremacy of Mewar during the reign of Rao Narpal. But they were not happy with such a position and it is likely that Rao Lal Singh tried to assert his independence.

60. As mentioned in *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834 this battle took place between Rao Vir Singh of Bundi and Rana Lakha of Mewar in which the Rana come out victorious and captured the forts of Mandalgarh and Bambavada.

This statement needs correction. The historians of Mewar mention the battle between the Hadas and the Sisodias of Mewar during the reign of Rana Kheta and not during the reign of Rana Lakha. The fort of Mandalgarh was already under the control of the Sisodias. This fort was taken by Rana Hammir from Rao Narpal Hada. Therefore, the question of conquering this fort by Rana Lakha does not arise. The fort of Bambavada was never taken by the Ranas of Mewar. From the incidents as mentioned in the subsequent pages, it will be noticed that the battle took place during the reign of Rao Lal Singh and not during the reign of Rao Vir Singh and was fought against Maharana Kheta of Mewar and not against Maharana Lahka as mentioned in the *Comprehensive History of India*.

61. Tod, ii, 378,

Kaviraj Shymal Das has also narrated a story which led to the conflict between the Hadas and the Sisodias. He says that once Baru barhat accompanied Maharana Kheta in the court of Rao Lal Singh Hada. There Baru declared that he could not recognise any person as Rajput except Maharana Kheta, and he could accept gifts from him only. Rao Lal Singh Hada felt humiliated but did not say anything to him at that time. He then called Baru in his house on the pretext of getting some advice from him. When Baru reached there the Hada Chief asked him to accept some gifts from him. Baru could not refuse the offer of the Hada Chief but he was reluctant to accept any gift from him. He, however, requested the Hada Chief that he would accept the gifts from him on the condition that he would also accept whatever he gave him. The Hada Chief agreed to the bargain.<sup>62</sup> Baru then connived with a *bhat* boy that he would present the head of Baru to Rao Lal Singh Hada and relate the story to the Maharana who would give him the reward. Baru severed his head and the *bhat* boy presented that head wrapped in a cloth to the Hada Chief. The Hada Chief was wonder-struck to see the head of Baru and he could foresee the consequences. Nainsi mentions that the enmity between the two lasted for sometime<sup>63</sup> but Kaviraj Shymal Das mentions that as soon as the *bhat* boy related the story to Maharana Kheta he was incensed and attacked Bundi.<sup>64</sup> The story narrated by Kaviraj, of course, highlighted the loyalty of the bards towards the Maharana, but the story appears to have been based on bardic sayings and had hardly any reality in it.

Day has given a very convincing reason for the conflict between the Hadas and the Sisodias. According to him, Rao Hammir Hada agreed to give six villages to the Maharana in

62. *Vir Vinod*, i, 302.

63. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 59.

64. *Vir Vinod*, i, 303; Ojha has discarded the story on the ground that Maharana Kheta did not marry the daughter of Rao Lal Singh as he was not the contemporary of the Rao.—*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 249-50.

dowry. Rao Lal Singh did not fulfil this promise. The Maharana was thus annoyed with the Hada Chief and decided to punish him. It was in 1382 A.D. that the Maharana found time to attack Bundi.<sup>65</sup> The Sisodias laid siege to the fort of Bundi. This fort was well protected and the Sisodias failed to get the fort. The Maharana then took some soldiers with him and by scaling the fortifications entered into the fort. The Hadas fought with the Sisodias inside the fort and in an encounter killed Maharana Kheta. The Sisodias too proved equally strong and they succeeded in killing Rao Lal Singh Hada. The death of the Hada Chief created confusion among the Hadas who lost the ground. Vir Singh, the younger brother and two sons of Rao Lal Singh Hada escaped from the fort.<sup>66</sup> The victory was achieved by the Sisodias even after losing their ruler. Bundi thus fell to the Sisodias.

The defeat of the Hadas brought Bundi under the direct control of the Sisodias. The Hadas continued their struggle to obtain Bundi for sometime. But they soon realised that it was difficult for them to get Bundi by force and therefore, decided to negotiate with the Maharana of Mewar. Nainsi tells us that Vir Singh Hada, the younger brother, Jaitrasimha and Naubrahma, sons of the late Hada Chief went to the court of the Maharana and explained that the incident took place due to the rashness of Baru and that they were not at fault. They asked him to restore Bundi to them and in return they were ready to accept the suzerainty of the Maharana. The Maharana accepted their request. In accepting their request the Maharana must have realised that it would be difficult for him to control the recalcitrant Hadas and therefore, he would have to fight at one more front. While the Hadas as tributary would serve him, the Maharana would have his control over them. Considering this aspect Maharana Lakha restored Bundi to the Hadas and made Vir Singh their Chief.

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65. *Mewar under Maharana Khumba, 14-15*

66. *Vir Vinod, ii, 302,*

In return, Rao Vir Singh ceded six villages to the Maharana.<sup>67</sup>

Though the sons of the late Chief of Bundi were alive and had accompanied Vir Singh to the court of the Maharana, Maharana Lakha gave Bundi to the younger brother of the late Chief. It is quite likely that in Rao Vir Singh he found a more docile person than the sons of Rao Lal Singh Hada and therefore, bypassed them and made Rao Vir Singh as the Chief of Bundi.

As a symbol of acknowledgement of the supremacy of Mewar, Rao Vir Singh Hada gave in marriage twelve Hada princesses to the family of Maharana Lakha.<sup>68</sup>

Having settled the differences with Mewar, Rao Vir Singh Hada set his house in order. The Hadas, however, did not reconcile to the humiliation of accepting the suzerainty of Mewar and ever remained intent upon getting out of the jurisdiction of the Maharana though they could not achieve it during the rule of Rao Vir Singh.

Rao Vir Singh Hada died in 1413 A.D. after having ruled over Bundi for thirty two years. He left behind three sons—Bairi Sal, Jabdoo and Nima.<sup>69</sup>

Bairi Sal Hada, the eldest son of Rao Vir Singh ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi<sup>70</sup> in 1413 A.D. The reign of Rao Bairi Sal was full of conflicts, sometimes with the ruler of Mewar and sometime with the ruler of Malwa. During the earlier period

67. According to Nainsi (*Khyat*, i, 59) and Kaviraj Shymal Das (*Vir Vinod*, i, 305) Rao Vir Singh gave 24 villages, but the editor of Nainsi's *Khyat* mentions six villages which the Hada Chief ceded to the Maharana. He seems to be correct as the battle between Rao Lal Singh and Maharana Kheta took place over the question of ceding these six villages.

68. Nainsi's *Khyat*, i, 59; *Vir Vinod*, i, 305.

69. Tod, ii, 376.

70. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 107; *ibid.*

of his reign, Rao Bairi Sal did not face any trouble from Mewar. After the death of Maharana Lakha, Mokul became the ruler of Mewar in 1397 A.D. Maharana Mokul was not powerful, with the result the Hadas, who had been in search of an opportunity to assert their independence, succeeded in their mission during his reign. During his rule the Hadas reconquered the fort of Mandalgarh which they had lost during the period of Rao Narpal. In addition to this fort, they also captured the forts of Jahajpur and Amargarh.<sup>71</sup>

The possession of these three forts, instead of making the Hadas secure, exposed them to the possibilities of an offensive from the Sisodias. To buttress their position they started seeking allies who could protect them against aggression. It was in this predicament that they found the rising power of Malwa useful to their interest and therefore, became friendly with Hoshang Shah, the Sultan of Malwa.

In 1423 A.D., Hoshang Shah of Malwa invaded Gagraun which was ruled by Kheechi Chauhans. The Chief of Gagraun, Achal Das Kheechi was a son-in-law of Maharana Mokul. In this invasion a large number of petty Chiefs joined hands with Hoshang Shah. Rao Bairi Sal also gave assistance to the Sultan,<sup>72</sup> who with the help of a large army, conquered the fort of Gagraun.

The death of Hoshang Shah in Malwa and the accession of Maharana Khumbha in Mewar changed the political situation. The death of Hoshang Shah created disturbances in Malwa which deprived the Hadas of all possibilities of assistance from that quarter. On the other side, Mewar was rising under the leadership of Maharana Khumbha which increased the anxiety of the Hadas.<sup>73</sup>

71. *Maharana Khumbha*, 24, 70.

72. *Achaldas Kheechi re Vachanika*, 7;—*Medieval Malwa*, 50.

73. Nizamuddin mentions that during the reign of Muhammad Shah the Rajputs of Hadauti rose in rebellion. The Sultan sent Khan

Maharana Khumbha thought to attack the Hadas as they had captured some of the territories of Mewar. Besides, Maharana probably wanted to keep them under his control because their alliance with the Sultan of Malwa was detrimental to the interest of the Maharana.

It was sometimes during 1435-36 A.D. Maharana Khumbha asked Ranmal to invade Bundi. Rao Bairi Sal Hada did not dare to resist the army of Mewar. He sued for peace. In the agreement that took place, Rao Bairi Sal Hada ceded the forts of Mandalgarh, Jahajpur and Amargarh and also accepted the suzerainty of Mewar.<sup>74</sup>

Jahan to crush the rebellion on 11th Rabi ul Awwal, 839/4th October, 1435 A.D. vide *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 492. U.N. Day mentions that the general disturbances and uprisings in Malwa encouraged the Hadas to assert their independence vidh *Medieval Malwa*, 79. From these statements it appears that Hadauti was a tributary state of Malwa but it is not correct. It was only an ally of the Sultan.

74, *Mewar under Maharana Khumbha*, 32-33; *Rajasthan Bharati*, March, 1963, 25. According to *Rajasthan Bharati* the Hadas had to cede the fort of Gagraun but it is wrong as the fort was not under the control of the Hadas.

Some historians mention that actually the battle took place between the Hadas and the Sisodias in which the Hadas were defeated. The Sisodias conquered Amargarh, Bambavada, Bundi, Khatgarh and Mandalgarh. Bundi, however, was restored to the Hada Chief —*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 297; Sarda—Maharana Khumbha, 83. The narration of these historians is based on *Khumbhalgarh Inscription* of 1460 A.D. and Ranakpur Temple Inscription of 1439 A.D. (S. 1496). But most of the Inscriptions have given exaggerated account of the events. They have to be carefully examined before accepting the facts given in them.

There is another story attached with this invasion according to which the Maharana failed to gain victory over the Hadas. The story runs as follows :—

When Maharana Khumbha started for Bundi, the queen asked him when would he come back. He replied that he would return on 3rd of Sawan after subduing the Hadas. The queen told him that if he did not return by "Teej" she would consider the Maharana as dead and would become *sati*. Maharana promised to her of his return

The Hadas again did not reconcile with their submission. They remained hostile and time and again raised their head against Mewar Imperialism. Day has rightly pointed out, "The Hadas had submitted to Rannal as a matter of expediency but they could not reconcile to their being subordinate to the ruler of Mewar and thus internal bickerings remained."<sup>75</sup>

Again during 1442 A.D. the Hadas rose in rebellion against Mewar and therefore, Maharana Khumbha had to go Hadauti to suppress the rebellion.<sup>76</sup>

The Sultan of Malwa could not see Hadauti in the hands of Maharana Khumbha. Before attacking Chittor, Mahmud Khilji thought of subduing the Chief of Hadauti who had accepted the suzerainty of Mewar. He, therefore, attacked Bundi in 1442 A.D. but on receiving petitions from the Chief of Mewat<sup>77</sup> he diverted his attention in that direction. However, in 1444 A.D. Mahmud Khilji again undertook the task

by "Teej". After conquering Amargarh he laid siege to the fort of Bundi. Battle continued for a long time but the Maharana failed to capture it. Just before "Teej" Maharana consulted his nobles what to do. They suggested him that he should return to Mewar leaving his head-cover with his nobles. When the Hadas came to know of it, Rao Bairi Sal's sons decided to snatch away the head-cover of the Maharana. They attacked the forces of Mewar during night and in the confusion that followed, the head-cover fell into the hands of the Hadas. When this news reached the Maharana he was ashamed and did not come out of his palace. He died within two months—*Vansh Prakash*, 86-90.

This story is also a fabricated one. We find that Maharana Khumbha did not march against the Hadas personally. Secondly, the battle did not take place at all. The Hadas submitted without fighting. Thirdly, as Ojha has rightly pointed out that he was murdered by his son and that too more than 19 years (32 years) after the attack of Bundi—*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 295.

75. *Mewar under Maharana Khumha*, 33.

76. *ibid.*; Sarda has given 1443 A.D. as the year of attack of Khumbha on Bundi vide *Maharana Khumbha*, 85.

77. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 111b; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 509; *Baday-unl* (Ranking), i, 398; *Firishta*, Briggs, 485;—*Medieval Malwa*, 115.

of conquering Gagraun, Mandalgarh and Hadauti.<sup>78</sup> After the conquest of Gagraun he deputed his son Ghiyas Shah to subjugate Hadauti.<sup>79</sup> The subjugation of Hadauti in 1444 A.D. did not establish his permanent authority, because he had to march into that region from time to time. The Hadas were freedom loving Chauhans and revolted whenever they found an opportunity. It is also quite likely that as the conflict between Malwa and Mewar was going on Mahmud Khilji was apprehensive of the Hadas joining hands with Maharana Khumbha, and therefore, to keep them under pressure he used to send expeditions from time to time.

Mahmud Khilji while on his march to conquer the fort of Mandalgarh went towards Hadauti and Ranthambhor on 20th Rajab, 850 A.H./11th October, 1446 A.D.<sup>80</sup> Nizamuddin and Firishta mention that Mahmud Khilji marched towards Kotah before launching the campaign against Maharana Khumbha for the conquest of the fort of Chittor.<sup>81</sup> The Raja of Kotah paid him one lakh twenty five thousand tankas by way of tribute.<sup>82</sup> These historians do not throw light on the motive of Mahmud Khilji in advancing against Kotah. However, Shahib Hakim mentions in detail the motive of the Sultan and his policy towards such states. He mentions that Rai Sanda, the son of Rao Bairi Sal Hada had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan but he secretly maintained friendly relations with Maharana Khumbha. His brother Bhonk was with the Sultan seeking his help to get Kotah from his brother Rai Sanda. After consulting his nobles, Mahmud decided to oust Rai Sanda from Kotah. Mahmud marched to Kotah. Rai Sanda did not offer any resistance but came forward with a tribute of one lakh twenty five thousand tankas. Mahmud was in no

78. *Medieval Malwa*, 141.

79. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 138b;—*Medieval Malwa*, 177.

80. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 156a;—*Medieval Malwa*, 179. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 519-20 gives 950 A.H. as the year of advance of Mahmud in Hadauti which seems to be a printing mistake.

81. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 521.

82. *ibid.*

mood to reinstate Rai Sanda. He removed him and gave Kotah to Bhonk.<sup>83</sup> The tribute of one lakh twenty five thousand that was paid by Rai Sanda was also given to Bhonk. In doing so Mahmud realised that Bhonk being depended on him would be more loyal than Rai Sanda.

In 858 A.H /1454 A.D., Mahmud Khilji again advanced towards Hadauti to punish the rebellious Rajputs there.<sup>84</sup> It appears that while Mahmud Khilji was busy in Gujarat the Hadas of Bundi might have tried to oust the officers placed in Hadauti. Mahmud Khilji, after concluding treaty with the ruler of Gujarat, marched towards Hadauti to subdue the region again. In the battle that took place at Maholi many Hadas were killed and their families were brought to Mandu. The fort was handed over to Qadam Khan.<sup>85</sup>

We again find Mahmud Khilji sending punitive expedition against Hadauti in 1455 A.D. It appears that the Hadas had been giving trouble to the Sultan and therefore, he had to send the forces there to subdue them. Mahmud was in Mandsor at that time and from there sent an army against the Hadas. The Sultan's forces achieved success.<sup>86</sup>

Mahmud Khilji who had been constantly fighting against Maharana Khumbha was not satisfied with his two failures in Mandalgarh. Once again he thought of conquering the fort of Mandalgarh. With this aim in view he advanced with a large army to capture that fort on 26th Muharram, 861 A.H./ 23rd December, 1456 A.D. When he reached the borders of Mewar, the armies of Nagor, Ajmer and Hadauti joined him.<sup>87</sup> With the help of this reinforced army Mahmud succeeded in conquering the fort which fell to him on 1st Zilhijjah, 861 A.H./ 20th October, 1457 A.D.

83. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 163b;—*Medieval Malwa*, 200.

84. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 526; *Medieval Malwa; Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 49.

85. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. iii, 526; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 49.

86. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 528.

87. *Ibid*, 530.

The success of Mahmud Khilji in Mandalgarh this time appears to be due to the support of the Hadas under Bhonk (Bhanda). They had once held that fort and were fully acquainted with its topography. Mahmud Khilji thus achieved his goal and in that his policy of keeping the Hadas on his side gave him divident.

After securing success in Mandalgarh, Mahmud advanced towards Chittor on 15th Muharram, 862 A.H./3rd December, 1457 A.D.<sup>88</sup> When a party under Taj Khan was in Chhappan, news came about the revolt in Bundi. Mahmud decided first to suppress the rebellion and then to march to conquer the fort of Chittor. Fidai Khan and Taj Khan were sent to suppress the rebellion. "Mahmud instructed that the Muqaddam of Bundi (Rao Bairi Sal) should be punished in such a way that none would dare to raise his head in future."<sup>89</sup>

The forces of the Sultan attacked the fort. The Hadas came out of the fort and fought against the enemy with great vigour but they could not overpower the enemy and in the end were routed. A large number of them were captured. The fort fell to the Malwi forces. Nizamuddin mentions that Fidai Khan left the fort in the hands of his trusted chiefs in that place and returned to the royal camp.<sup>90</sup> The historians of Rajasthan mention that in this battle the Chief of Bundi Rao Bairi Sal was also killed.<sup>91</sup> Two of his sons were among those who were captured and were converted to Islam.<sup>92</sup>

Thus ended the region of Rao Bairi Sal Hada which witnessed many battles. The Hada Chief being weak and

88. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 210b; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 531.

89. *Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 211b; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, i, (1879), 219. Gahlot mentions this attack in 1459 A.D. vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 49, but the date given in *Maasir* seems to be correct.

90. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, ii, 532.

91. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 50; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834. Tod gives 1469 A.D. as the year of the death of Rao Bairi Sal which is not correct.

92. Tod ii, 376; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834.

incapable could not win any battle. During this period the region of Hadauti—Bundi and Kotah—remained a tributary state of one or the other power, i.e., Mewar or Malwa.

Rao Bairi Sal had seven sons—Bhanda, Sanda, Akheraj, Udal, Chund, Smar Singh and Amar Singh.<sup>93</sup>

Bhan Deo also known as Bhanda succeeded his father in 1458 A.D. as the Chief of Bundi.<sup>94</sup> Gahlot mentions that he was the fourth son of Rao Bairi Sal Hada who debarred his three sons from the gaddi as they did not help him in the battles. He also mentions that Rao Bhan Deo was nine years of age at the time of his accession.<sup>95</sup> The statement of Gahlot needs correction.

Tod mentions that Rao Bhan Deo was the eldest son.<sup>96</sup> Somani also believes that he was the eldest. Thus the statement of Gahlot is not correct. He does not mention the name of Sanda as one of the sons of the late Hada Chief. This name we find in the contemporary Persian work '*Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi*' of Sahib Hakim. Besides, Rao Bhan Deo could not be nine years of age at the time of his accession. Gahlot himself mentions that Rao Bairi Sal ascended the *gaddi* in 1413 A.D. at the age of 32 years and died in 1459 A.D.<sup>97</sup> i.e. after ruling 46 years. Even if we accept that he was the fourth son of the late Hada Chief it is not possible that he might have a son of nine years of age, and three more younger ones at the time of his death. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, Rao Bhanda took Kotah from his brother Rai Sanda with the help of the Sultan of Malwa during the life-time of his father.

93. Tod, ii, 376.

94. Surya Mal Misrn (*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1953) and Somain (*Maharana Khumbha*, 144) mention that after the death of Rao Bairi Sal his wife and children went to Nenva from where they conquered Bundi with the help of Maharana Khumbha which is doubtful.

95. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 50

96. Tod, ii, 376

97. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 49-50.

This clearly shows that Rao Bhan Deo could not have been nine years old, but quite mature at the time of his accession in 1458 A.D.

At that time Bundi was under the control of the Sultan of Malwa who had left his representatives there. To liberate Bundi from the Muslims Rao Bhan Deo sought help from Maharana Khumbha and succeeded in ousting the Muslim officers from Bundi.

Rao Bhan Deo, however, could not sit peacefully. Some of his brothers created troubles by occupying some territories of the Hada Chief. Rao Bhan Deo also sought the help of his other brother Sanda and with his assistance recovered a large portion of his lost territories. Encouraged with this success he started plundering the neighbouring territories which were under the possession of the Sultan of Malwa. The activities of Rao Bhan Deo attracted the attention of Sultan Ghiyas Shah of Malwa, who sent Samarkandi and Umarkandi with an understanding that they would be made rulers after the conquest of Bundi. The two converted brothers succeeded in ousting Rao Bhan Deo and started ruling over Bundi jointly.<sup>98</sup>

There is no consensus regarding the place where Rao Bhan Deo took shelter. According to Surya Mal Misrn, Samarkandi and Umarkandi granted some jagir to Rao Bhan Deo and his brother Sanda after ousting them from Bundi. Later on they were invited by their Muslim brothers in Hindal where they were killed.<sup>99</sup>

From the narration it is not clear why the Muslim brothers first gave concession to Rao Bhan Deo and Sanda after ousting them from Bundi and later on (why did they) killed them? It is, therefore, doubtful if Rao Bhan Deo and Sanda were granted any jagir.

98. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1953; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 107; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 67, Tod, ii, 377.

99. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 1954.

The real position seems to be that Rao Bhan Deo after his expulsion took shelter in Mewar, where he was granted the jagir of Bhilwara.<sup>100</sup>

Rao Bhan Deo died in 1503 A.D.<sup>101</sup> and left behind three sons—Narayan Das, Narbadh and Nar Singh.<sup>102</sup>

After the death of Rao Bhan Deo, the Hadas in exile recognised his eldest son Narayan Das as their Chief. Bundi was then under the control of his Muslim uncles—Samarkandi and Umarkandi. Rao Narayan Das decided to recover Bundi from them. He first collected the Hadas of Pathar region and made a plan to oust his uncles from Bundi. He sent a message to his uncles that he wanted to pay respect to them. They without suspecting any foul-play, granted permission to him. Rao Narayan Das reached near the palace with a small band of soldiers, and leaving them at the chowk, he himself went into the palace where his uncles were seated almost unattended. As soon as he reached near them he cut the head of Samarkandi with his sword and before the other brother could take shelter anywhere Rao's lance pierced his head. He then called his men from the chowk who put to sword many of his retainers. The head of both the brothers were placed at the feet of the shrine of *Bhawani*.<sup>103</sup> To commemorate this victory a memorial was raised at a place where he put Samarkandi to sword. In memory of this victory, the memorial was worshipped by the Hadas every year.<sup>104</sup>

Rao Narayan Das was strong, brave and enterprising. He not only recovered Bundi from his uncles but also gave help

100. Tod mentions that Rao Bhan Deo fled from Bundi and took shelter in the hills of Matunda where he died vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 377.

101. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 51; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834.

102. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 107; Tod (ii, 377) mentions that Rao Bhan Deo only had two sons—Narayan Das and Narbadh. The latter had Matunda.

103. Tod, ii, 377.

104. *Ibid.*

to the Maharana of Mewar when Chittor was invaded by Sultan Nasir Shah of Malwa. Rao Narayan Das himself went with his Hada force to help Rana Rai Mal. With the help of the Hadas the Rana succeeded in defeating the Sultan. In that battle Rao Narayan Das got many wounds and many Hadas laid down their lives in defence of Mewar. Pleased with the bravery of the Hada Chief the Rana married his niece to him<sup>105</sup>.

The matrimonial alliance strengthened the relations of the Hadas with the Sisodias. Rao Narayan Das continued to help Maharana of Mewar in every eventuality. In the great battle that took place between Maharana Sanga of Mewar and Babur in 1527 A.D. at Kanwah, Rao Narayan Das went in support of the Maharana with 7000 soldiers.<sup>106</sup> In this battle the Hada Chief laid down his life in support of the Sisodia Chief against Babur.<sup>107</sup>

Rao Narayan Das was very brave. Tod commending his courage says that "he was one of those undaunted Rajputs who are absolutely strangers to the impression of fear, and it might be said of danger and himself, 'that they were brothers whelped the same day, and he the elder.'"<sup>108</sup> However, he was edicted to opium. It is said that he used to take opium equal to the weight of seven pice at one time. Tod records an interesting story in regard to his taking opium.<sup>109</sup> He also mentions that his Sisodia bride succeeded in reducing

105. *ibid.*; *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, 834.

106. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2065; *C.H.I.*, v, 834. Babur mentions the name of Narbad Hada, the brother of the Hada Chief who had joined Maharana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah vide *Baburnama*, tr., ii, 562. It is likely that Babur might not be correct in mentioning names of the Rajputs who took part in the battle.

107. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 4, fn.3. According to Surya Mal Misrn, Rao Narayan Das was murdered by the jagirdar of Ketkern vide *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2065.

108. *Tod*, ii, 377

109. *ibid.*

the dose of opium by keeping the opium-box in her own custody.<sup>110</sup>

The battle of Kanwah marked a turning point in the history of Mewar and Bundi. Rao Narayan Das lost his life in the battle-field while Maharana Sanga was removed from the battle-field in an unconscious condition. Maharana Sanga lived for another ten months at Basawa because he did not want to re-enter Chittor under the disgrace of defeat. During this period Maharana Sanga made constant efforts to reorganise the power of Mewar. He already had a soft corner for the Hadas and was impressed with their valour. It is under these conditions that when Suraj Mal, the eldest son of Rao Narayan Das ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi in March, 1527 A.D.<sup>111</sup> Maharana Sanga who was then at Basawa sent a red *lashkar* horse valued at Rs. 20,000 and a meghnad elephant valued at Rs. 60,000. These were sent as a reward for the services rendered by his father at the battle of Kanwah.<sup>112</sup> Maharana Sanga also gave his daughter in marriage to Rao Suraj Mal. The Hada Chief in his turn also married his sister Sooja Bai to Ratan Singh, the heir apparent of Mewar.<sup>113</sup>

After the death of Maharana Sanga, Ratan Singh became the ruler of Mewar. Rao Suraj Mal who was the feudatory Chief of Mewar, sent a horse and an elephant at the time of his *tika* ceremony. Maharana Ratan Singh did not like these presents. He returned them to the Hada Chief with a message

110. *ibid.*, 378. According to Nainsi, it was Rao Shuja Rathor's daughter Khetubai who controlled the opium dose vide *Nainsi re Khyat*, i, 102.

111. According to Tod, Suraj Mal ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi in V.S. 1590/1534 A.D. vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 378. Ojha on the basis of inscription found in Khjuri village calculates 1506 A.D. as the year of Suraj Mal's accession vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, 240-41, fn.1. None of these dates is correct. The Hada Prince became the Chief of Bundi after the death of his father in the battle-field of Kanwah in 1527 A.D.

112. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 4, fn.3.

113. Tod, ii, 378; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 53

that he should present the horse and elephant which Maharana Sanga had given to him at the time of his accession. The Hada Chief sent a reply that those presents were given by Maharana Sanga and as such he would not present them to the Maharana. May be to avoid any possible future trouble Rao Suraj Mal gave them away to Bhanda, the bard.

When Bhanda bard went to the court of Maharana Ratan Singh he praised the Hada Chief for his bravery and charity. Maharana then enquired from the bard the basis for his praise. The bard told him about his bravery by narrating that one day two bear surrounded the Hada Chief in the jungle but the Rao killed both with his dagger. As for his charity he told him that the Hada Chief had presented him one *lashkar* horse and meghnad elephant. The Maharana got furious on hearing this and out of anger asked the bard to leave Mewar immediately.<sup>114</sup> This incident estranged the relation of the Hada Chief of Bundi and Maharana of Mewar.

The enmity between the two rulers further increased on the question of getting the fort of Ranthambhor. Maharana Sanga had two sons—Vikarmaditya and Udai Singh from his wife Karmeti Hadi, daughter of Narbad Hada, brother of Rao Narayan Das of Bundi. She was the favourite queen of the Maharana. She was under premonition that her sons were very young and it was likely that Ratan Singh, the heir apparent might not provide enough for them after the death of Maharana Sanga. She expressed this view to Maharana Sanga and requested him that he should grant the fort of Ranthambhor to her sons as jagir and after his death both of her sons should be kept under the care of her cousin Rao Suraj Mal Hada. Maharana Sanga granted her request and the fort of Ranthambhor was given to Vikarmaditya and Udai Singh. The Maharana asked Rao Suraj Mal to look after them. He also gave to Vikarmaditya the jewelled crown and belt that he had taken away from Sultan Mahmud Khilji II of Malwa. The Hada Chief requested the Maharana that in this decision he

114. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 104-5.

should also consult Ratan Singh, the heir apparent. On asking, Ratan Singh gave his consent to the decision of his father. After the death of Maharana Sanga, Rani Karmeti Hadi came to Bundi with her sons.<sup>115</sup>

After his accession, Maharana Ratan Singh did not like that the fort of Ranthambhor should remain in the hands of his brothers under the care of Rao Suraj Mal. He decided to get back the fort through stratagem. He sent a message through Purabia Puran Mal to Rani Karmeti Hadi requesting her that she being his mother should come and live with him. He also requested her to bring both of his brothers with her. The Rani saw in this request some foul play and therefore, asked the messenger that she had come there in accordance with the wishes of Maharana Sanga and now it was upon Rao Suraj Mal to decide about it. Rao Suraj Mal was also doubtful about the intentions of the Maharana and therefore, did not accept his request. He also refused to hand over the jewelled crown and belt which Maharana Ratan Singh had asked for. Purabia Puran Mal returned to Mewar with a reply of denial. The Maharana was further enraged at the behaviour of the Rao and decided to avenge the wrong done to him.<sup>116</sup>

Anticipating an attack from Maharana Ratan Singh, Rao Suraj Mal consulted his sister and they decided to seek help of Babur. She sent a *Rakhi* to him and requested him to help her son, Vikarmaditya in getting the *gaddi* of Mewar. In return of this help she agreed to give the fort of Ranthambhor and the jewelled crown and belt to the Emperor.<sup>117</sup> Babur accepted the terms but could not help due to his own pre-occupation in conquering the country. This incident, however, indicates

115. *ibid.*, 102-4; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 2-4; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 672; *Maharana Sanga*, 96.

116. Tod's ii, 379 version of the incident of the death of Purabia Puran Mal and the dinner given by Sooja Bai are fantasies of the bards and may be rejected as against the version of Nainsi and Kaviraj Shymal Das.

117. *Baburnama*, tr., ii, 612-13; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 6-7; *Mewar and the Mughals*, 42.

treachery in the house of the Sisodias and also a debasement in their character. Ratan Singh was the eldest son and a rightful successor according to the custom of the house. To conspire to overthrow him was surely an act of treachery.

Maharana Ratan Singh invited the Hada Chief many times but the Hada Chief doubting the intentions of the Maharana did not respond to his invitations. Maharana then made a plan to kill the Hada Chief on hunting expedition. Purabia Puran Mal agreed to assist him in this work.

It was sometimes in March, 1531 A.D. that Maharana Ratan Singh came towards Bundi on a hunting expedition. He also invited Rao Suraj Mal there. They came to Bajara village where Maharana left the Hada Chief and Purabia Puran Mal and himself went in another direction. On return he saw that Purabia could not do anything. Therefore, he personally attacked the Hada Chief with a sword. Purabia also attacked the Hada Chief with an arrow which passed through his chest. The Hada Chief immediately took out his dagger and killed the Purabia. Meanwhile Maharana came to the help of the Purabia and tried to attack the Hada Chief. But the Hada Chief was very courageous and unmindful of his wounds he pulled down Maharana Ratan Singh from his horse and struck him with his dagger thereby killing him instantly. The Hada Chief who had received many wounds also died on the spot.<sup>118</sup> Tod mentions that the canopies of both the chiefs are there at a place where they died.<sup>119</sup>

From the above narrations it seems that the real cause of differences between Rao Suraj Mal and Maharana Ratan Singh were centred round the question of handing over the fort of Ranthambhor to the Maharana. The stories relating to the presents of lashkar horse and meghnad elephant as the cause of annoyance on the part of the Maharana seem to be later interpolations.

118. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 107-8; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 7; G.S. Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, 392-93; Tod, ii, 379-80.

119. Tod, ii, 380.

The sudden death of Rao Suraj Mal Hada brought his son Surtan, a lad of eight years to the *gaddi* of Bundi. Simultaneously, Vikarmaditya succeeded the *gaddi* of Mewar. It was in 1535 A.D. when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat attacked Chittor, Rao Surtan, a feudatory of Mewar, was called upon to render assistance. Since he himself was very young, Arjun Hada, grandson of Rao Bhan Deo went to assist the Maharana with 5000 soldiers. In the battle Arjun laid down his life in defending the fort of Chittor.<sup>120</sup>

Rao Surtan grew up into a man of cruel nature, and entirely lacked the qualities of a ruler. He could not keep his nobles and subjects happy. His cruelty created terror in the minds of the nobles. He was a worshipper of *Kal-Bhiroo* and used to offer human sacrifice.<sup>121</sup> His hands of cruelty also reached the nobles. He got the eyes of Sehesh Mal and Santal extracted.<sup>122</sup> All the nobles except Samant Singh Hada left Bundi and went to their respective jagirs.<sup>123</sup> He also tried to kill Samant Singh Hada, who, in order to save himself, also went to his jagir in Bhansi village and from there he went to the court of Sher Shah Suri. The King appointed him as the qiladar of the fort of Ranthambhor.<sup>124</sup>

The misrule of the Hada Chief created confusion in Bundi. The other states took advantage of this confusion. In 1546 A.D., Kaiser Khan and Dogar Khan, the Pathans attacked Kotah. Since the Hada Chief was incapable and inactive, Biram Hada, the Chief of Kotah could not get any assistance from the elder branch and therefore, he was defeated and driven out by the Pathans who established their rule over Kotah.<sup>125</sup>

120. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 109-10; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 29-30; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 398; Tod, ii, 381; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, i, (1879), 219.

121. Tod, ii, 380.

122. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 110; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 69.

123. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 69.

124. *ibid.*

125. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, 68; *Rajputana ka Itihas*, ii, 55.

The weakness of the Hada Chief also provided opportunity to Rai Mal Kheechi who occupied the parganas of Baraud and Siswali belonging to Bundi.<sup>126</sup>

The bad behaviour and weakness of the Rao prompted the nobles to request Maharana Udai Singh of Mewar for help. Maharana Udai Singh gave tilak to Surjan Hada, son of Arjun, grandson of Bhan Deo, who was in Mewar in the service of the Maharana and sent him with a large force to oust Rao Surtan from Bundi. Rao Surtan hearing the approach of Surjan, fled away from Bundi. The subjects of Bundi who were dissatisfied with Rao Surtan, welcomed Rao Surjan.<sup>127</sup>

126. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 56.

127. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 110; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 69; Ojha, G.S.—*op. cit.*, 406-7. M.L. Sharma, however, narrates the incident of ouster of Rao Surtan and about his successor differently. He mentions that the weakness of Rao Surtan encouraged the Sultan of Malwa to attack Bundi. The nobles who had no faith in the Rao, deposed him with the consent of Maharana Udai Singh and made Arjun Hada, the grandson of Rao Bhan Deo as their Chief. The Hadas then defeated the Sultan vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 68. Gahlot has also mentioned the incident in the same way vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 56. This statement needs correction. Firstly, the attack of the Sultan of Malwa on Bundi appears to be somewhat confused. During this period Malwa was a part of the Sur Empire with Sujat Khan as the governor. Sujat Khan was not in a position to attack Bundi. Secondly Arjun was killed while defending the fort of Chittor against the Sultan of Gujarat and hence the question of his accession to the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1554 A.D. after ousting Rao Surtan does not arise.

Rao Surtan after his expulsion from Bundi went to Rai Kheechi via Patan (*Vansh Bhashkar*), iii, 2201; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 69; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 56). Rai Kheechi gave him a village near Chambal which he renamed as Surtanpur (*Tod*, ii, 380; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 56). From there he went to the court of Emperor Akbar where he was taken into Imperial service. He was made an officer of the artillery. When Akbar proceeded to attack Chittor in 1567 A.D., he took a small band of soldiers and attacked Bundi but failed to achieve any success there (*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2253-54; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 56). He then returned to his own village and lived there for the rest of his life.

Thus, after the deposition of Rao Surtan, Surjan ascended the gaddi of Bundi in 1554 A.D.<sup>128</sup> with the assistance of Maharana Udai Singh and in return accepted the suzerainty of the Maharana.<sup>129</sup> Rao Surjan came to the *gaddi* of Bundi at a critical time when internal disturbances had weakened the state and external aggressions threatened it. The task before him was to set his house in order and to recover the territories like Kotah, Siswali and Baraud<sup>130</sup> that were lost during the reign of Rao Surtan.

Soon after his accession Rao Surjan Hada recalled all the nobles who had left the state. He then raised a large army to

128. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 108; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 407; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 57. Tod mentions that Rao Surjan came to the *gaddi* of Bundi in 1533 A.D. vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 381. This date is faulty. He has given dates which are contradictory in itself.

129. Kaviraj Shymal Das mentions that Maharana Udai Singh entered into political alliance with Rao Surjan vide *Vir Vinod*, ii 69-70, but what seems more probable is that it was Rao Surjan who accepted the suzerainty of the Maharana, the reasons for which could be as follows:

- (i) Rao Surjan was in the service of Maharana Udai Singh prior to his accession in Bundi and it was with his help that he got the *gaddi* of Bundi. Therefore, the likelihood of his accepting the suzerainty is more than the possibility of entering into political alliance with the Rao by the Maharana.
- (ii) From the very beginning Mewar had been trying to keep Bundi as a feudatory state and many times it succeeded in asserting its suzerainty over Bundi and whenever the Chiefs of Bundi did not acknowledge its suzerainty they faced attack from Mewar. Therefore, the Rao might have thought to please the Maharana by accepting his suzerainty.
- (iii) There were lot of troubles in Bundi and therefore, Rao Surjan might be willing to seek help from the Maharana to settle the affairs in Bundi.

130. M. L. Sharma mentions that during the reign of Rao Surtan the parganas of Ramgarh and Palaith were also probably lost vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 71, but he neither mentions to whom these parganas were lost nor he has mentioned whether or not Rao Surjan reconquered them.

recover the lost territories.<sup>131</sup> But before he could take any step towards the conquest of the lost territories, he was called upon to help Maharana Udai Singh who led an army against Haji Khan Pathan towards Ajmer in 1556 A. D. The joint forces of the Sisodias and the Hadas defeated Haji Khan Pathan.<sup>132</sup>

Rao Surjan then turned his attention to take back the parganas of Siswali and Baraud from Rai Mal Kheechi. He attacked the Rai. The Kheechi Chauhan being no match to the Hada Chief was defeated and he had to return both the parganas. Not only this Rai Mal Kheechi had to accept the suzerainty of Rao Surjan. In this battle Rao Surjan lost one of his brothers, Kirti Singh.<sup>133</sup>

The recovery of Baraud and Siswali was followed by the occupation of Ranthambhor. The manner in which the fort came into the possession of Rao Surjan Hada is a matter of controversy. Historians have put forward different opinions on this issue.

Nainsi writes that the fort of Ranthambhor was given to Rao Surjan by Maharana Udai Singh at the time of tilak.<sup>134</sup> Kaviraj Shymal Das also mentions that the qiladari of the fort was given to Rao Surjan by the Maharana. Rao Surjan Hada marched to Ranthambhor to occupy it. Samant Singh Hada who at that time was the qiladar came out of the fort and handed over the keys to the Rao. Rao Surjan Hada did not dispossess Samant Singh Hada. He reappointed him as the qiladar of the fort.<sup>135</sup>

The Persian chroniclers have also narrated about the occupation of the fort of Ranthambhor by Rao Surjan. In

131. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2236; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 74.

132. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 56; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 407-8.

133. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2241; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas* i, 74.

134. *Nainsi's Klyyat*, i, 110.

135. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 69.

*Akbarnama*, Abul Fazl mentions that "In the time of the Afghan Supremacy, Salm Khan had entrusted this fort to his slave Jajhar Khan. When the drums of the Shahinsnah's fortune beat high, this ill-fated slave saw that the maintenance of the fort was beyond his power, and with the intention of preventing its falling into the hands of the Imperial servants, sold the fort to Rai Surjan, who was powerful in that neighbourhood."<sup>136</sup>

Badayuni writes that ".....in the same year (966/1558 A.D.) Sangram Khan, also a *ghulam* of (the late) Adali sold the fortress of Ranthambhor into the hands of Rao Surjan Hada."<sup>137</sup>

According to Nizamuddin, "During this year (1559 A.D.) also Habib Ali Khan was sent to Ranthambhor. During the time of the rule of Shir Khan this fort was in the possession of Haji Khan, one of his slaves. At the present time, Haji Khan had sold the fort to Rai Sarjan a relation of Rana Udai Singh, who in that neighbourhood was celebrated for his wealth and the number of his followers."<sup>138</sup> Firishta also mentions that Rao Surjan purchased the fort from Haji Khan who was posted there from the time of Salim Shah.<sup>139</sup>

Tod mentions that "Sawunt Sing, a junior branch of Boondi, upon the expulsion of the Shershahi dynasty, entered into a correspondence with the Afghan governor of Ranthambor, which terminated in the surrender of this celebrated fortress, which he delivered up to his superior, the Rao Soorjun". Further he writes, "The Chohan chief of Baidla, who was mainly instrumental to the surrender of this famed fortress, stipulated that it should be held by Rao Soorjun, as a fief of Mewar."<sup>140</sup>

136. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 132.

137. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, tr., ii, 25.

138. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr., ii, 234.

139. *Firishta*, ii, 143.

140. Tod ii, 382

Frederik Augustine also mentions that "Upto the date of Akbar's accession, Ranthambhor had been in the hands of the Afghans; in 1556 A.D. Salim Shah's general Jhujar Khan, despairing of his master's cause made it over to Rao Surjan Hada, a vassal of Udai Singh."<sup>141</sup>

From the narrations of these historians we find that there are two views regarding the manner in which the fort of Ranthambhor came under the control of Rao Surjan. While Nainsi and Shymal Das mention that the fort was given to the Rao by Maharana Udai Singh of Mewar, the other historians are of the view that it was sold to the Rao by the Afghans.

The history of the fort of Ranthambhor from the time of Maharana Sanga indicates that it was under the control of the Sisodias of Mewar during the reign of Maharana Sanga. He assigned this fort to his two sons, named Vikarmaditya and Udai Singh who were kept under the guardianship of Rao Suraj Mal Hada after the death of the Maharana in 1528 A.D. in accordance with his wishes. It was lost to Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat during the reign of Maharana Vikarmaditya. After the death of the Sultan, Sher Shah conquered it and he handed it over to one of his generals. After the accession of Akbar, an army was sent to conquer the fort in 1559 A.D.<sup>142</sup>. But this expedition did not prove successful. However, the governor of the fort was frightened by this Imperial expedition. He opened negotiations with Samant Singh Hada, a noble of Bundi and sold the fort to him. Samant Singh Hada handed over the fort to his master Rao Surjan. The Rao thus obtained the fort of Ranthambhor and made Samant Singh as the qiladar.<sup>143</sup>

141. *The Emperor Akbar*, tr., ii, 170.

142. *Akbarnama*, tr., 132; *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, tr., ii, 25.

143. Tod remarks, "Thus Ranthambhor, which for ages was an appanage of Ajmer, and continued until the fourteenth century in a branch of the family descended from Beesildeo, when it was captured from the valiant Hamir after a desperate resistance, once more reverted to the Chohan race" vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, ii, 382.

From the above facts it is clear that the fort of Ranthambhor was lost during the reign of Maharana Vikarmaditya and was not recovered by Maharana Udai Singh. Therefore, a fort which was not possessed by the Maharana could not be given by him to Rao Surjan. Nainsi and Shymal Das by narrating that the fort of Ranthambhor was given by Maharana Udai Singh to Rao Surjan probably want to show the power and strength and liberal attitude of the Maharana.

After obtaining the fort of Ranthambhor, Rao Surjan conquered the territories around it. This made the position of the Rao strong who then turned his attention towards Kotah, then held by the Pathans. The state was conquered by Rao Surjan after defeating Kaisar Khan and Dogar khan as will be discussed in subsequent pages.

Rao Surjan after conquering the lost territories started consolidating his kingdom. He gave more attention to strengthen the fort of Ranthambhor as this fort always attracted the attention of every ruler. The strengthening of the fortifications was all the more necessary because of the anticipated attack by the Mughal Emperor who had started the conquest of important and strategic forts. Rao Surjan, therefore, strengthened the fortifications and also built houses inside the fort,<sup>144</sup> He made himself strong enough to face any invasion. He started living in the fort of Ranthambhor and his second son Bhoj looked after the affairs of Kotah. Thus we find that Rao Surjan established his power over Hadauti comprising Bundi, Kotah, and Ranthambhor and their adjoining territories till he was attacked by the Mughal Emperor in December, 1568 A.D.

Besides Bundi, the history of which we have just discussed, there was another region that formed a part of Hadauti. It was called as Kotah. This place occupied an important position during the late seventeen and early eighteenth century. Kotah was inhabited by the Bhils when Jaitra Singh, son of

Rao Samar Singh of Bundi conquered it from their Chief Koila sometimes during 1343-46 A.D.<sup>145</sup> Rao Samar Singh gave this region to Jaitra Singh in jagir. The descendants of Jaitra Singh continued in their jagir for some time but their history is obscure. During the period 1413-58 A.D., we find that Kotah was ruled by Rai Sanda, the second son of Rao Bairi Sal of Bundi. It appears that Rao Bairi Sal might have displaced the jagirdar of Kotah and gave it to his second son. Tod mentions that it was Rao Suraj Mal who ousted the ruler of Kotah, Dheer Deo.<sup>146</sup> But the description of Tod seems to be faulty. On the one hand he mentions that Rao Suraj Mal ousted Dheer Deo and on the other he mentions that this incident took place after Kotah was lost to the Pathans and then recovered by the Hadas. When we compare his arguments with the incident we find that the narration of Tod does not fit in the chronology of the incident. Rao Suraj Mal was the ruler of Bundi during 1527-31 A.D. and Kotah was lost to the Pathans in 1546 A.D. So it is not believeable that Rao Suraj Mal ousted the ruler of Kotah, Dheer Deo, after the latter recovered Kotah from the Pathans. It may be further added that Kotah was recovered by Rao Surjan of Bundi sometime in 1561 A.D.

As already mentioned Bairi Sal had given Kotah in jagir to his second son Sanda. But Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, who was the suzerain of the Hadas, doubted the integrity of Sanda. Therefore, when approached by Bhan Deo, he utilised the opportunity to remove Sanda and put Bhan Deo in charge of Kotah on behalf of Malwa.

The position in Kotah again changed after the death of Rao Bairi Sal Hada of Bundi in 1458 A.D. Rao Bhan Deo being the eldest son of Rao Bairi Sal returned to Bundi and became the ruler there. Who succeeded him in Kotah is not known, but it appears that the region of Kotah was again occupied by the descendants of Jaitra Singh.

145. For details see pp. 15-16.

146. *Tod*, ii, 373, fn.

It was between 1473 and 1488 A.D. that Zafar Khan captured Kotah. During this period Dheer Deo possibly was in occupation of Kotah. He was defeated by Zafar Khan and thus Kotah was lost the Muslims. The reason for the fall of Kotah could be that during that period Bundi was also held jointly by Samarkandi and Umarkandi who ruled it on behalf of the Sultan of Malwa and as such no assistance could reach Kotah from the Hadas of Bundi. When Rai Mal of Mewar heard this news he collected a large army consisting of the rulers of Aser, Raisen, Chatsoor, Lalsot, Toda, Bundi, Amber, Ajmer, Chanderi etc. and attacked Mandalgarh<sup>147</sup> that was held by the Sultan of Malwa. Zafar Khan had to come to Mandalgarh leaving Kotah. In the battle that ensued, Zafar Khan was defeated with heavy casualties. He fled to Mandu, but was pursued by the Maharana. The Maharana then attacked Khairabad. Sultan Ghiyasuddin made overtures of peace. The Maharana after accepting the proposal returned to his state.<sup>148</sup> Thus the Muslims were ousted from Kotah and Dheer Deo again occupied that region.

Dheer Deo was succeeded by Biram who became the ruler sometimes during the middle of the sixteenth century and was contemporary of Rao Sultan of Bundi. It is said that Biram used to remain in Bundi in the service of the Rao of Bundi and the administration of Kotah was left to his brother Kanha. Kanha was lazy and ease loving. This weakened the state. Encouraged with such a state of affairs, Kaisar Khan and Dogar Khan Pathan attacked Kotah. The Hadas of Kotah could not get any assistance from Bundi as confusion was prevailing there due to bad administration of Rao Surtan. The Hadas of Kotah themselves had no strong leader to oppose the Pathans. The result was that the Hadas were defeated and Kotah passed into the hands of the Pathans. The state of Kotah remained under the control of the Pathans for about fourteen years.

It was in 1554 A.D. that Rao Surjan Hada occupied the *gaddi* of Bundi and started consolidating his hold over the

147. *Maharana Sanga*, 6-7.

territories of Hadauti. He then started conquering the territories that had slipped away from the hands of the Hadas. As already mentioned, Rao Surjan Hada after consolidating his position in Bundi, turned his attention towards Kotah in 1561 A.D. By that time the political situation had changed. Akbar had ascended the throne of Hindustan, and the process of territorial expansion had begun. It was sometimes in 1561 A.D. that Malwa was conquered and its ruler Baz Bahadur was driven out. Annexation of kingdom of Malwa to the Mughal Empire provided an opportunity to Rao Surjan Hada to recover Kotah from the Pathans who had lost the support of the Sultan of Malwa. Rao Surjan marched from Bundi with a large force. The Pathans also moved and the two armies met near Bhadana village.<sup>149</sup> Surya Mal Misrn gives a full description of the battle. He mentions that Man Singh, the brother of Rao Surjan succeeded in killing Kaisar Khan. Seeing his brother killed, Dogar Khan made furious attack on Man Singh and killed him. Both the sides fought courageously. Mahrab Khan, nephew of Dogar Khan showed great bravery but was killed. Each side tried its best to over power the other. The Pathans attacked Rao Surjan with two arrows but he was saved. The Afghans fought well but could not stand the Hada onslaught. The death of Kaisar Khan and Mahrab Khan had discouraged them. They left the field and fled to the city of Kotah. The Hadas pursued them. The battle again took place in the city where Salargazi, the brother of Dogar Khan fell fighting. He was followed by Dogar Khan. The death of Dogar Khan broke the back-bone of the Afghans. They were driven out and Kotah was recovered by the Hadas.<sup>150</sup>

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148. *ibid.*

149. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2237; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas* i, 72.

150. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2238-39; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i; 72-73; Tod, however, gives credit to the wife of Bhonung who according to him was then the ruler of Kotah in regard to the conquest of Kotah. He narrates the story as under:

"...Kotah was seized by two Pathans, Dhakur and Kesar Khan.

(Contd.)

Thus Rao Surjan Hada took possession of Kotah. Surya Mal Misrn mentions that Kotah remained under the rule of the Pathans for 26 years.<sup>151</sup> The statement of Surya Mal Misrn has been accepted by M.L. Sharma and Gahlot.<sup>152</sup> But the various incidents during that period does not testify the statement of Surya Mal Misrn. While going through the

Bhonung, who became mad from excessive use of wine and opium, was banished to Boondi, and his wife, at the head of his household vassals, retired to Keytoon, around which the Haras held three hundred and sixty villages. Bhonung, in exile, repented of his excesses; he announced his amendment and his wish to return to his wife and kin. The intrepid Rajpootni rejoiced at his restoration, and laid a plan for the recovery of Kotah, in which she destined him to take part. To attempt it by force would have been to court destruction, and she determined to combine stratagem and courage. When the jocund festival of spring approached, when even decorum is for a while cast aside in the Rajpoot Saturnalia she invited herself, with all the youthful damsels of Keytoon, to play the Holi with the Pathans of Kotah. The libertine Pathans received the invitation with joy, happy to find the queen of Keytoon evince so much amity. Collecting three hundred of the finest Hara youths, she disguised them in female apparel, and Bhonung, attended by the old nurse, each with a vessel of the crimson *abir*, headed the band. While the youths were throwing the crimson powder amongst the Pathans, the nurse led Bhonung to play with their chief. The disguised Hara broke his vessel on the head of Kesar Khan. This was the signal for action : the Rajpoots drew their swords from beneath their *ghagras* (petticoats), and the bodies of Kesar and his gang strewed the terrace."—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii. 373-74, fn.

The story is based on bardic sayings. This, of course, shows chivalry of the Hadas but is far from truth. M.L. Sharma has correctly rejected this story on the following grounds :

- (i) How the Pathans believed that a Rajputani could come to play Holi of her own.
- (ii) How the band of 300 soldiers returned alive from the strongholds of the Pathans.

vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 69-71.

151. कोटा सु अच्छ छवीस तैं गत, गंजि अप्पन यों मुरयो ।

*Vansh Bhanshikar*, iii, 2239.

152. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 7:3

narration we find that Kotah was captured by Kaisar Khan and Dogar Khan in 1546 A.D. and if the Pathans held Kotah for 26 years it means that they remained master of Kotah upto 1572 A.D. which cannot be correct. Rao Surjan who conquered Kotah submitted to Akbar in 1569 A.D. and he certainly conquered Kotah before his submission, and after the Mughal conquest of Malwa. We find that the Pathans were ousted from Kotah after they had ruled for 14 years or so, but certainly not 26 years.

After conquering Kotah, Rao Surjan gave it to his second son Bhoj for administering it and thereby hrestablished the old principle and Kotah was given in jagir to the younger son by the Chief of Bundi.

The history of the Hadas upto 1568 A.D. is full of conflicts with one or the other neighbouring powers. The neighbouring kingdoms of Mewar and Malwa always remained a source of trouble to them. Being powerful, sometime Mewar and sometime Malwa established their supremacy over this branch of the freedom loving Chauhans because they were small in number and did not possess as much resources as these states had at that time. Even then the Hadas time and again became independent. However, from the time of Rao Narayan Das 1503-27 A.D.) the Hadas established their relations with the house of Mewar because the rulers of Mewar were very powerful and during the time of Maharana Sanga a Rajput confederacy was formed under the leadership of Maharana Sanga. These relations continued even during the time of Rao Surjan till he was attacked by Emperor Akbar in December, 1568 A.D. This brought about an end of his relations with the Maharana of Mewar and then onwards the Hada Chief established new political relations with the Mughal Emperor.

## **Submission of the Hadas to Akbar (1568-1605 A.D.)**

The reign of Rao Surjan opened a new era in the annals of Bundi. Until 1568 A.D. he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Mewar. With the help of the Maharana of Mewar he could get back the lost territory under his control. He also obtained the fort of Ranthambhor from the Afghans. Having recovered all the territories, he then started to consolidate his position in Bundi. But the ties with Mewar were broken when he had to surrender to the Mughals in the first quarter of 1569 A.D. From that time Bundi started maintaining its relations with Mughals which continued till the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Emperor Akbar wanted to build an Empire which should have under its control the entire country. With this aim he started subduing one after another the independent states of Rajputana. At the time of his accession there were many states ruled by different Rajput dynasties. The most powerful of all these states was the state of Mewar. Most of the petty Rajput Chiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Maharana and the Chief of Bundi was one of them.

Although Rajputs were famous for their courage, valour and bravery but the strength and power of Mughal ruler frightened many of the Rajput Chiefs specially those who had no ally to support them. However, the Rajput Chiefs who were under the banner of Mewar still felt that so long as the Maharana was strong they had nothing to worry about.

The first petty Rajput Chief who surrendered to the Mughals was Bhar Mal Kachhwaha of Amber. He submitted to Akbar in 1562 A.D. and entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Emperor. In return the Emperor took the Raja in Mughal service and gave a rank of five thousand.<sup>1</sup> His son Bhagwant Das and grandson Man Singh were also taken in Mughal service. They got high honour in the Mughal court. Although this Kachhwaha family was probably the weakest among all the Rajput Chiefs, yet by virtue of their surrender without any contest they got a high position in the Mughal court. It was this family which played a great role in the extension of the Mughal Empire. Akbar had full faith in their bravery and loyalty and often put them in command of armies sent against the enemies.

Raising of the Kachhwaha family to a high position was an indication to other Rajput Chiefs of the gains they could also obtain if they submitted to the Emperor without use of arms. However, Akbar did not wait for the surrender of Rajput Chiefs. Among the Rajputs, Maldeo Rathor had already been defeated in 1558 A.D. during the regency of Bairam Khan and Ajmer, Nagor and Jaitaran had been captured by the Mughal force. Jodhpur was attacked in 1564 A.D. and its ruler, Rao Chandra Sen was finally defeated and expelled from his dominion. He had to take refuge in the mountains of Shirana. Jodhpur was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

After the conquest of Jodhpur, the next state to attract the attention of the Emperor was Mewar. Emperor personally moved to conquer the fort of Chittor which was under the

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 347.

rule of Maharana Udai Singh of Mewar and had a number of petty states as its feudatories. Akbar decided to attack Chittor, the conquest of which would facilitate the task of Akbar in reducing them to submission. In 1568 A.D. the Emperor led his army to besiege the fort of Chittor. A decisive battle took place between the Mughals and the Sisodias of Mewar. Though the Rajputs showed great valour and fought with bravery but their resources were no match to the Mughals. Ultimately they were defeated. The fort of Chittor fell into the hands of the Mughals on 24th February, 1568 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Akbar then ordered for a general massacre. This created a great terror among the subjects of Mewar. The defeat of the Maharana was a set back to the other small Rajput states as they were left without the protection of any great power.

Akbar next turned his attention to the fort of Ranthambhor which was under the possession of Rao Surjan Hada. This fort occupied a position of great strategical importance. Every ruler had an ambition to conquer this fort. During the Sultanate period almost all the strong Sultans of Delhi led expeditions to conquer the fort. Most of them succeeded in occupying it but that was always for a short period. The weak Sultans of Delhi always gave opportunities to the Rajputs to recover this fort. Similarly this fort changed hands during the first half of the sixteenth century when it came under Rao Surjan Hada in 1568 A.D.

Rao Surjan who was watching the movements of Akbar was sure that he would have to meet the brunt of the Mughal force because the Emperor would not overlook the conquest of Ranthambhor, it was a matter of time. Visualizing the danger from the Mughals Rao Surjan took steps to safeguard himself in Bundi and Ranthambhor. He had already strengthened the fortifications and was maintaining a large garrison. He had stored enough provision to stand a siege. He was also sure that he would have to fight with the Mughals single-handedly because none of the Rajput Chiefs would be able to help him.

2. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 476.

Their power had already been reduced by the Emperor.

Rao Surjan had not to wait long. The Emperor started his expedition to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor towards the end of the year 1568 A.D. Abul Fazl records that when Emperor Akbar passed through Ranthambhor in 1561 A.D. to tackle Adam Khan Rao Surjan sent suitable presents and paid homage of submission.<sup>3</sup> Abul Fazl is the only historian who has mentioned the submission of Rao Surjan in 1561 A.D. We do not find any such information in any other source. Even the other Persian historians are silent over this. If we take the statement of Abul Fazl as correct we have to explain that when the Hada Chief had offered his submission to the Mughal Emperor why Akbar led an expedition personally to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor. It seems that Akbar wanted to bring the fort of Ranthambhor under his direct control. The strategic situation of the fort might have made him realise that this important fort should not be left into the hands of the Rajputs. The nominal submission of Rao Surjan Hada by sending the presents might have been due to the fact that the Hada Chief had just obtained the fort and had not strengthened its fortifications. Besides, he had to consolidate his power in Bundi. He, therefore, decided to please the Emperor so that immediate confrontation with the Mughals could be avoided.

The Emperor sent his forces to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor for the first time on 13th April, 1564 A.D. after his return from Ajmer.<sup>4</sup> But soon the news arrived that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza had revolted in Malwa. The troops that were sent to reduce the fort of Ranthambhor were diverted to Malwa. Thus the expedition to Ranthambhor was postponed.<sup>5</sup>

After settling the affairs in the Punjab, Akbar seriously undertook the work of reducing Ranthambhor. On 21st

3. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 218.

4. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, tr., ii, 110.

5. *ibid.*; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr., ii, 350.

December, 1568 A.D.<sup>6</sup> army was sent to conquer this strong fort. Akbar himself led the expedition and reached Ranthambhor on 10th February, 1569 A.D.<sup>7</sup> The Emperor laid siege to the fort. The description of the siege has been given by all the Persian historians. Abul Fazl narrates the siege of the fort in the following manner.

"...On the day after his arrival H.M. the Shahinshah came out of the defile where his camp was pitched and examined the hill in company with a few of his special courtiers. He went up to the top of the hill and studied with farseeing eyes the height of the fort. He brought the figure of its conquest into the mirror of his imagination and tightened the straps of resolution for its capture."

"In accordance with the world-conquering commands the able Bakhshis arranged the batteries round the hill on the submit of which the fort was situated. The ocean like army surrounded it with its billows, and took the form of a devastating flood. Egress and ingress were so blocked for the garrison that the wind could not enter. They were active in firing cannon, and the thunderbolt of wrath burnt up the life-harvest of the ill-fated enemy." "As after consideration it appeared certain that the enterprise was impossible without the application of sabats, which are the demolishers of the stiffnecked, an order was given to Qasim Khan Mir Barr-u-Bahr to prepare one. For greater security Rajah Todar Mal, who had the control of the Viziership, was also employed on this service. Also Superintendents raised a lofty sabat near the valley of Ran. Strong stone-cutters as well as smiths and carpenters addressed themselves to this duty. In a short space of time the work was far advance, and the work became on a level with the fort. Great culverins, each of which was with difficulty dragged over level ground by two hundred pairs of oxen

6. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 489; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr., ii, 352.

7. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 490.

and which threw a stone of sixty *mans* and a bullet of thirty *mans* were up such a mountain full of heights and hollows by winding paths by iron-armed *kahars* and strong shouldered porters, by the genius of the Shahinshah who is the opener of physical and spiritual knots, over the hillocks of the Ran where the royal battery was.<sup>8</sup> In accordance with orders firing began. At every discharge there was a reverberation in the mountain, the ears of the solid rocks were opened, and there was a breach in the walls of the fort and houses went to dust."

"On seeing this state of things the smoke of amazement rose in Surjan's brain, and dust was evolved from his breath. His pride was shattered, and the fire of his disposition quenched. At the end of the month of Ramzan, 19th March, 1569, which was the first day of victory, the Shahinshah remarked, 'If the garrison do not today come to do homage, next day, which is the Id, the fort will be our target (*qabab*)'. Surjan's heart gave way. He employed the intercession of the courtiers and sent his sons Duda and Bhoj to court. They succeeded, by the instrumentality of some high officers, in obtaining an interview and placed the foreheads of supplication on the threshold of sincerity."<sup>9</sup>

Badayuni narrates the surrender of the fort as under :

"At the beginning of the month of Rajab of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihli, and occupied himself for some days in Qamorghah hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Palam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Shaban he came by successive

8. This statement of Abul Fazl has been held by Ojha as only a fiction. Ojha mentions that at the time of Akbar, there were no such heavy guns which could throw a stone of 60 maunds or a ball of 30 maunds and which were carried by the porters which on the level ground could be dragged with difficulty by two hundred pairs of oxen—*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, fn. 2, 419.
9. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 491-94.

days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short time sabats were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the Kharas, of whom there were some seven or eight hundred drew fifteen pieces of ordnance, carrying balls of five to seven *man* in weight, by main force to the top of the hill Ran, which commands fortress, and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Rai Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chittor, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Doda and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the zamindars, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter."<sup>10</sup>

Nizamuddin Ahmad mentions, "The beginning of this year was on Friday the 25th Ramzan, 976 (14th March, 1569); and in the beginning of it (His Majesty) having turned the bridle of his attention to the conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor arrived within a short time at the foot of the fort; and surrounded it, as the circumference encloses the centre. Batteries having been carried forward, and sabats having been erected, breaches were made in several places by cannon shots. When Sarjan, the ruler of the fort, saw this condition of things, he fell from the zenith of pride and hauteur to the nadir of helplessness, and sent his sons named Duda and Bhoj out of the fort, and asked for protection."<sup>11</sup>

Another Persian historian Ferishta mentions that "In the month of Rujub, in the year A.H. 976 (December A.D. 1568), the king marched from Agra to reduce Runtunbhore, then in possession of Raja Soorjun Ray,.....On the 22nd of Rumzan, A.H. 976 (March 17, 1569) the king invested the place, and caused a battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Mundun; where he posted a few guns, a measure

10. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, tr., ii, 111.

11. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr., ii, 353-54.

no one had ever before attempted. At every discharge a number of the houses were laid in ruins, till at length Raja Soorjun Ray capitulating, he was permitted to march out unmolested with all his family.”<sup>12</sup>

From the above narrations we find that there is a similarity in the accounts of the Persian historians. All the historians believe that the demolition of the houses inside the fort effected the mind of Rao Surjan Hada so much that he had to surrender the fort. However, they believe that the Hada Chief surrendered through the intervention of some nobles. Who these nobles were? To which side they belonged? These historians failed to answer these questions. It is not clear how Rao Surjan Hada, who was a man of courage, valour and determination, could have lost his confidence simply by the demolition of a few houses and submitted to the Mughals so easily. The Hada clan to which he belonged always believed in defending their dominion so long as they had a drop of blood in their bodies. How could it then be believed that the Hada Chief melted away after seeing the demolition of the houses. Besides, the walls of the fort were so strong that it was not at all easy for anyone to break them. What seems evident is that the Persian historians have suppressed some details which were not palatable to them.

To assess the correctness of the narratives of the Persian historians, we may compare them with other accounts. In this connection we may first look into the narration of Tod, who made a detailed survey of the history of Rajasthan. According to Tod,

“Rinthumbhor was an early object of Akbar’s attention, who besieged it in person. He had been sometime before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwandas of Amber and his son, the more celebrated Raja Manu, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akbar, but allied themselves to him

<sup>12</sup>. *Ferishta*, ii, 143.

by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Soorjun Hara faithless to his pledge, 'to hold the castle as a fief of Cheetore.' That courtesy, which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajpoots, obtained Raja Manu access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-beater. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognised the emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hands and placed Akbar on the 'cushion' of the governor of the castle. Akbar's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said, 'Well, Rao Soorjan, what is to be done?' which was replied to by Raja Manu, 'Leave the Rana, give up Rinthumbor, and become the servant of the king, with high honours and office.' The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent; the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king."

"A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the prince of Amber, which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling—

1. "That the chiefs of Boondi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajpoot, of sending a *dola* to the royal harem.
2. Exemption from the *jezeya*, or toll-tax.
3. That the chiefs of Boondi should not be compelled to cross the Attoc.
4. That the vassals of Boondi should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives 'to hold a stall in the Meena Bazaar' at the palace, on the fastival of Noroza.
5. That they should have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-aum*, or 'hall of audience,' completely armed.
6. That their sacred edifices should be respected.

7. That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.
8. That their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dagh*.
9. That they should be allowed to beat their *nakar-ras*, or 'kettle-drums,' in the streets of the capital as far as the lal durwaza or 'red-gate'; and that they should not be commanded to make the 'prostration' on entering the Presence.
10. That Boondi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital."<sup>13</sup>

The modern historians do not agree with Tod. They say that Tod has narrated a fabricated story. Their only argument is that none of the Persian historians has mentioned that Akbar entered the fort in disguise and concluded the treaty. They have mostly followed the court historian Abul Fazl. Gahlot while disagreeing with Tod mentions the following additional points in support of his argument :

1. Jaziya was abolished in 1564 A.D. i.e., much earlier than the fall of the fort of Ranthambhor.
2. The horses were branded from 1574 A.D. i.e., much later than the event under discussion.
3. The question of going across Attock did not arise at that time because the territories of the Mughals were not so much extended.<sup>14</sup>

While examining the arguments of Gahlot we find that these arguments are not convincing. As to the abolition of Jaziya, it may be pointed out that although Jaziya was abolished in 1564 A.D. but as the Hada Chief had no contacts with the Mughals earlier he might have been ignorant of the abolition. The branding of the horses was a common practice during

13. Tod, ii, 382-83.

14. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 57.

Muslim Rule in India and so he might have laid this condition. The criticism of Gahlot regarding going across Attock is also not sound. Mughal Empire did extend beyond Attock upto Kabul. Though it was under Mirza Hakim, it formed a part of the Mughal territory. Gahlot also states that as per Nainsi Rao Surjan Hada submitted with the condition that since he was a vassal of the ruler of Mewar he would not go in the campaign against him.<sup>15</sup> But Nainsi is also too short in his narration. Secondly, he has written the history of Jodhpur for which it is a reliable work. He hardly mention full details about the history of other parts of Rajasthan. It is, therefore, not correct to say that since Nainsi has not mentioned a particular event which is beyond the sphere of his work, that event did not take place.

R. N. Prasad is another critic of Tod. His criticism is based on the following grounds :

1. "Akbar disguised as a mace-bearer is not convincing."
2. "How could Emperor Akbar, a man of great foresight and sound judgement, risk his life by entering into the impregnable fortress of his enemies attended by a lad of eighteen ?"
3. "Besides, along with Kuwar Man Singh, there was present in the Mughal camp, Raja Bhagwant Das an experienced diplomat and veteran warrior of the Imperial court... Why he chose Kuwar Man Singh instead of Raja Bhagwant ?"
4. "The then state capital of the Mughals was not Delhi but Agra. Then why should 'Bundi be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king' as stated by Col. Tod."<sup>16</sup>
5. "How could the Kuwar, an inexperienced lad of eighteen, be entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating the terms of the treaty."<sup>17</sup>

15. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 112; *ibid.*

16. *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, 23.

17. *ibid.*, 25.

Prasad has criticised Tod mainly on the ground that Man Singh being an inexperienced lad of eighteen years could not undertake the delicate work of negotiations with Rao Surjan Hada. This point seems to be correct because Man Singh was appointed for the first time with this army and definitely Akbar could not have utilised the services of the Kunwar. It seems that Tod has wrongly used the name Man Singh. He is generally confused in the names of the rulers or princes. Actually it was Raja Bhagwant Das<sup>18</sup> who carried out the negotiations with the Hada Chief.

The important source of information is Surjan Charit which was written during the reign of Rao Surjan. According to Surjan Charit "Having conquered the rest of the earth, Akbar the Emperor of Delhi, tried to acquire Ranthambhor, the capital of Surjan. Thirteen times the Rajputs beat back the Muslims. The next time, however, the Mughal army was led by the Emperor himself. Surjan was not in the fort at that time. But soon as he heard that the fort had been besieged, he marched out from Puttanpura with a large force to relieve his stronghold. He succeeded in getting there without much difficulty and the very next day, gave battle to the Mughal army which consisted not merely cavalry and elephants but also of an efficient pack of artillery. The fight was of the most furious character. But towards evening, the enemy appeared to be gaining the upper-hand, so Surjan himself led an attack and with such effort that Akbar had to appeal to his commanders to stop somehow the victorious advance of this redoubtable Rajput warrior. They killed Surjan's horse, cut his bow-string and pierced his armour. But even then, he fought on with nothing but his trusty sword left to him and Akbar

18. *Nainsi's Khyat*, i, 112; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 77. Shymal Das (*Vir Vinod*, ii, 84) and Ojha (*History of Rajputana*, i, 314) have mentioned the name of Bhagwan Das who negotiated with Rao Surjan. But they have committed the same mistake as other historians have committed, viz., to name Bhagwan Das for Bhagwant Das. We find that Raja Bhagwant Das was there in the army as will be revealed from the subsequent narrations when the sons of Rao Surjan went to submit to the Emperor.

was constrained to admire this courage, evening supervened, so the Emperor retired to his camp and Surjan to the fort."

"The next day when Surjan was getting ready to sally out again with his enemy, a sachiva of the Emperor reached the gate of the fort. He was well received and he delivered the following message : 'Pleased with your bravery, the Emperor rewards you with the territories lying adjacent to the Narmada, the mandal of Mathura and holy city of Banaras. It is no good fighting against an exceedingly mighty foe. Accept these, therefore, and surrendered instead the fort of Ranthambhor to the Emperor.'

"Surjan agreed to these terms, being himself desirous of visiting the sacred places. He, accordingly, left Ranthambhor and went away with his people to the banks of the Narmada."<sup>19</sup>

Surjan Charit only mentions that the skirmish took place between the forces of the Hadas and the Mughals and ultimately the Hada Chief surrendered the fort through intervention of some sachiva from the side of Akbar.

*Vansh Bhashkar*, a work completed in the nineteenth century while narrating in detail the history of Hadauti, has also thrown light on this aspect. According to it the Hada Chief of Bundi agreed to surrender the fort on the following seven conditions.

1. They will not give their daughters in marriage to the Mughals.
2. They will not send their females to hold a stall in the Meena Bazar on the festival of Nauroz.
3. They should not be compelled to cross Attock.
4. They should be allowed to enter the Diwan-i-aum completely armed.
5. They should be allowed to beat their nakarras in the street as far as lal darwaza.

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19. *Surjan Charit*, Canton 16 and 17—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, xix 1943, 181.

6. Their horses should not be branded.
7. They should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.<sup>20</sup>

Kaviraj Shymal Das mentions in his *Vir Vinod* that, when the batteries of Akbar could not affect the walls of the fort, Akbar sought help from Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber who apprised Rao Surjan Hada of the power of Akbar and impressed upon him that when Akbar could conquer the fort like Chittor, he would definitely take this fort also. It was a matter of time. He, therefore, advised Rao Surjan Hada to surrender the fort, Rao Surjan laid down seven conditions as mentioned in *Vansh Bhashkar* to which the Emperor agreed.<sup>21</sup>

On examination of the records we find that these historians hold the opinion that Rao Surjan Hada surrendered the fort of Ranthambhor through the intervention of some noble. While Persian sources are silent over the name of the noble who brought about the understanding between the two parties, the non-Persian sources mention that task of negotiation was entrusted to Raja Bhagwant Das of Amber who did it successfully.

As regards Tod's narration that Akbar himself entered the fort in disguise it may be pointed out that such an action on the part of the Emperor cannot be set aside altogether. But it needs examination whether the Emperor entered the fort in disguise. When we study all the contemporary as well as other works we find that none of the historians has narrated this event. Even the historians writing the history of Rajasthan are silent over this incident. It seems doubtful if Tod's narration of this incident is correct. What seems more probable is that Tod in his usual manner dramatised the whole narration of this incident, or relying on some bardic story he has incorporated it in his narrative.

20. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2265.

21. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 84.

There is a general criticism as regards the points of treaty are concerned. All the modern historians except V. A. Smith opine that the treaty is the later fabrication and it actually did not take place. They state that since none of the Persian historians have mentioned about the treaty it is certain that no such agreement took place. But this is not at all a sound argument. If the Persian works are the only reliable sources then why one should study the other sources. Should we take for granted that whatever information is given in the Persian sources is final and should not be analysed in the light of the other works viz., non-Persian sources? Though there cannot be two opinions about the fact that the Persian works are the important source material for the medieval period yet these works do not always reflect a clear picture of the events. They often omit some important incidents probably because it did not fit in their narration that the Emperor was all powerful and he neither faced any defeat nor a debacle. The Persian historians' narrative of the incident of the fort of Ranthambhor is incomplete. It does not mention clearly as to how the fort was surrendered to the Mughals. Therefore, it is necessary that we should examine the circumstances under which the fort was surrendered but that can be examined in the light of the non-Persian sources.

Tod has noted the conditions of surrender from the personal records of the Chief of Bundi. The other historians—Surya Mal Misrn and Shymal Das have also mentioned the terms of surrender. The only difference among these historians is that while Tod mentions ten conditions, the other two historians mention only seven. However, comparison of the conditions reveals that Surya Mal Misrn<sup>22</sup> took these conditions from Tod and Shymal Das simply followed Surya Mal Misrn. Any way before totally rejecting them it is worthwhile examining these conditions to find out the extent of truth that might be in them.

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22. That all the statements of Surya Mal Misrn are not reliable has been pointed out in the critical paper by Raghbir Singh in Mahakavi Surya Mal Misrn, 'Smriti Granth', 45-78.

The conditions of the treaty as mentioned above do not contain any condition which is prejudicial to the prestige of Emperor Akbar. If we study the terms we find that though these terms indicate the pride of a Rajput but there is hardly any substance in them. These terms did not in any way affect the interest of the Mughal Emperor. While accepting the terms Akbar might have realised that if Rao Surjan's vanity could be satisfied by acceptance of these terms which would make the Hada Chief surrender the fort there was no use to prolong the siege or to give battle resulting in unnecessary loss of lives.

The conclusion of the conditions is further testified when we find mention in *Ain-i-Akbari* that none of the Hada princess entered the Mughal harem.<sup>23</sup> We also do not find any reference that ladies belonging to Hada clan ever held a stall on the festival of Nauroz.

Investigation of the facts leads us to conclude that the Emperor employed heavy batteries for the demolition of the fortifications. But the walls of the fort were so strong that Akbar's batteries failed to make any impression on them. During the period of siege some skirmishes took place between the Hadas and the Mughals. In these the Hadas proved equal in strength to that of the Mughals. When Akbar's arms failed to bring Rao Surjan Hada to his knees, he adopted the method of diplomacy. He sent Raja Bhagwant Das of Amber to Rao Surjan for persuasion. The Raja as the agent of the Mughal Emperor persuaded the Hada Chief to surrender the fort to the Mughal Emperor emphasising upon the unequal contest in which the resources of the Hada Chief could never match with that of the Mughals and that the fall of the fort was a certainty, utmost the Hada Chief could do was to

23. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 510. G.N. Sharma in his book '*Social life in Medieval Rajasthan*' (p.116) mentions that the princesses of Kotah were married to the Mughals. But the references given in the footnote do not support his statement. He has probably generalised that the princesses of the Rajput Chiefs entered the Mughal harem.

delay it. He seems to have impressed that it could only result in unnecessary loss of life, whereas acknowledgement of Mughal suzerainty would bring peace to Hadauti and prosperity to his family. That help from any Rajput Chief was out of question as none of them has in a position to render any assistance. On the other hand Rao Surjan Hada might have also realised that when the fort like Chittor could fall into the Mughal hands which was held by the most powerful clan of Rajputana, how long would he be able to stand the siege. He too, felt that Raja Bhagwant Das was right when he said that help from any quarter was not at all possible. But being a proud Chauhan he did not like to surrender himself unconditionally. He laid down some conditions under which he could surrender to the Emperor. Raja Bhagwant Das informed the Emperor accordingly. The Emperor felt no disgrace in accepting the conditions laid down by the Hada Chief. Rao Surjan then agreed to submit to the Emperor. However, it may be made clear that the conditions under which the Hada Chief submitted were in no case a treaty. It was never signed. The conditions of surrender were verbally expressed and were consented to by the Emperor.

At the first instance Rao Surjan sent his sons, Dauda and Bhoj to the Mughal camp where they were well received and the Emperor gave them robes of honour, but unfortunately an unpleasant incident took place in the Mughal camp. When Dauda and Bhoj were taken behind the enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed with sword in hand towards the audience tent. A servant of Raja Bhagwant Das tried his best to make him understand the whole situation but he did not listen anything and rushed towards the royal *daulatkhana*. He killed several people, before he was cut down by one of Muzaffar Khan's men.<sup>24</sup> As Danda and Bhoj were innocent the Emperor overlooked the incident. Rao Surjan Hada requested that "one of the inmate courtiers might come and introduce him to the court."<sup>25</sup> Akbar appoin-

24. *Akbarnama*, tr., ii, 494; *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 449-50; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii, 114-15; *Vir-Vinod*, ii, 85.

25. *Akbarnama*, tr., 494-95; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii, 115.

ted Hussain Quli Khan for this task. On 22nd March, 1569 A.D., Rao Surjan Hada came out from the fort and made his obeisance to Akbar tendering among other gifts the gold and silver keys of the fort. His request for three days to arrange for evacuation of the fort was granted on his agreeing to put during the interval his two sons as hostage with the Emperor.<sup>26</sup> On the appointed day Rao Surjan Hada surrendered the fort with all its stores and garrison to Mihtar Khan. However, he retained two guns named 'Katak Bijili' and 'Dhuldhari' and two idols of Chaturbhuj which he sent to Bundi.<sup>27</sup> Next day Akbar entered the fort. However, it may be noted that while Akbar had ordered a general massacre after the conquest of the fort of Chittor, he did not do such heinous work here in Ranthambhor. At Chittor he had to fight a fierce battle which annoyed the Emperor and out of anger probably he undertook such an inhuman operation. But in case of the conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor, the Hada Chief submitted by persuasion.

Akbar thought it dangerous to leave the fort of Ranthambhor with the Hadas, and therefore, appointed his own men to command the fort. Rao Surjan Hada was left with his ancestral possessions of Bundi. Besides, he was granted a personal jagir consisting of Manroli and Ghar-Katanga.<sup>28</sup>

The long standing relationship of the Hadas with the house of Mewar came to an end with the fall of Ranthambhor. It marked the beginning of a new political relationship. The Hadas henceforward established their relations with the Mughals. The Hada Chiefs became Mughal servants and loyally served the Emperor till the end of the Mughal Empire.

Soon after the submission of Rao Surjan Hada, he was sent to reduce Gondwana. This territory had been assigned to

26. *Akbarnama*, tr., 495; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 115.

27. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 86; *Kotah Rajya ka Itikas*, i, 80.

28. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 449-59; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 115.

him in jagir though it had not been properly subjugated.<sup>29</sup> While ordering so, Akbar killed two birds with one stone. On the one hand the territory of Gondwana would be conquered with the help of the Hada warriors and on the other, Rao Surjan Hada would be obliged for receiving the territory in addition to the territory of Bundi. Rao Surjan Hada led the expedition against the Gonds. He defeated them and their capital Barigarh was conquered.<sup>30</sup> The leader of the Gonds was captured and produced before the emperor.<sup>31</sup> Rao Surjan Hada pleaded for his liberty. Akbar showed kindness towards him and a portion of his possession was restored to him.<sup>32</sup> The achievement of the Hada Chief in Gondwana pleased the Emperor so much that a gate-way was erected there which was known as Surjanpol. The Emperor conferred the title of Rao Raja on Surjan and granted 26 parganas near Bundi and 26 in Banaras.<sup>33</sup> According to *Vansh Bhashkar*, the Hada Chief was granted the mansab of 5000<sup>34</sup> which M. L. Sharma has accepted.<sup>35</sup> But it is not correct. The Hada Chief was granted a mansab of 2000 and that too, after subduing the rebellion of his son, Dauda Hada.

Rao Surjan Hada and his son Bhoj very soon found an opportunity to render service to the Emperor. It was in 1572 A.D. that the Imperial forces were sent against the rebels—Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, who held Baroach, and his brother Muhammad Hussain Mirza who was stationed near Surat. The Emperor ordered Rao Surjan Hada to accompany the army.<sup>36</sup> In the battle that took place, Ibrahim Hussain Mirza was defeated, but he escaped from the battle-field. Bhoj then

29. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 81. According to him Gondwana was not a part of the Mughal Empire, but he is wrong because we know that—Gondwana had been conquered by Asaf Khan in 1564 A.D.

30. Tod, ii, 38.

31. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2284-88; Tod, ii, 384; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 82.

32. Tod 384; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas* i, 82.

33. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 82; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 61.

34. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2290.

35. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 82.

36. *Firishta*, Briggs, ii, 145.

was ordered to march with Man Singh to Dungarpur via Idar and from there he returned to the capital.<sup>37</sup>

Akbar then sent an army to conquer the fort of Surat under Raja Todar Mal. This army included Dauda and Bhoj,<sup>38</sup> the sons of the Hada Chief. In the battle that ensued, Bhoj succeeded in killing the leader of the Gujarat army which disheartened the Gujarati forces. On 26th February, 1573 A.D. the fort, after a siege of about a month and a half fell into the hands of the Mughals.<sup>39</sup> This was the first battle in which Bhoj served the Mughal Emperor and in this he showed his worth as a great warrior.

The services rendered by the Hadas in Gujarat impressed the Emperor very much. The Emperor recognised the merit of the Hadas in the Mughal army which by their inclusion was definitely strengthened. Pleased with the services of the Hada Chief and his son Bhoj, Akbar decided to grant an important territory to the Hada Chief in jagir. In 1575 A. D. the Emperor took back Ghar-Katanga from Rao Surjan Hada and in return granted him the jagir of Chunar.<sup>40</sup> Rao Surjan was also appointed as the Hakim of Banaras and Chunar.<sup>41</sup> In return of the services of Bhoj, the Emperor asked him to name the award. Bhoj requested the Emperor to permit him to go and visit his estates annually during the periodical rains which the Emperor gladly granted to him.<sup>42</sup>

Rao Surjan Hada then made his residence in the sacred city of Banaras<sup>43</sup> and left the administration of Bundi in the hands of his eldest son, Dauda.

37. *Akbarnama*, iii, 48.

38. Tod, ii, 384.

39. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 81.

40. *Akbarnama*, tr., iii, 223; *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 449; *Maastr ul Umra*, ii, 115.

41. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2289; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 82; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 64.

42. Tod, ii, 384.

43. *Ibid.*; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 82; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 61.

The arrangements made for Bundi did not last long. Dauda could not reconcile to the surrender and the acceptance of Mughal suzerainty. He desired to rule independently and in the event of attack prepared himself to face it and to die fighting rather than accepting the humiliation. He realised that the submission had reduced him to the position of a zamindar, and instead of being a ruler he had become a servant of the Mughals. He was required to administer the territories according to the wishes and orders of the Emperor. In other words he had been reduced to the position of an agent of the Mughal Emperor.

Though Rao Surjan had left Bundi to Dauda, he seems to have his own doubts about him. Dauda was rather hoty and proud and it is not very unlikely that he had grudgingly accepted his father's orders to go to the Mughal camp with his brother Bhoj. At Bundi, during the absence of Rao Surjan Hada, Dauda started preparations for defying the orders of the Emperor. Bhoj who was also left at Bundi considered such a policy as detrimental to the interest of Bundi. The two brothers had different views regarding the administration and policy. Bhoj secretly nursed the desire of ruling over Bundi. Rao Surjan Hada wanted to retain the favour of the Emperor as well as the ancestral land of Bundi. He realised the danger of allowing Dauda to continue to rule with a hostile attitude towards the Mughals. He, therefore, issued instructions for the replacement of Dauda by Bhoj in the management of Bundi. This brought a breach between the father and the son.<sup>44</sup>

44. Nainsi in his *Khyat* (i, 266-72) has narrated a story, which however, when minutely analysed comes to be a mere bardic version without any substance. Because Bhoj, a Bundi Prince, could not have been without money. Secondly, Bhoj, was already in the Imperial service after the submission of the Hada Chief to the Emperor and he had already served the Emperor in his Gujarat campaign in 1572 A.D. So the question of his seeking service into Imperial court does not arise. Thirdly, Dauda who was very calculative would never send his 25 nobles at the request of Hammir knowing it well that Hammir was friendly to Bhoj and assisted him against Dauda.

In Mughal-Rajput relations the year 1576 A.D. touched the lowest point when some of the Rajput Chiefs raised the standard of rebellion at different places.<sup>45</sup> Rana Pratap of Mewar with whom all negotiations of settlement had failed by then, started open hostility against the Mughal Emperor.<sup>46</sup> Dauda Hada found in such a situation an opportunity to grind his own axe. He remembered his relationship with the Sisodias and also that the Hadas of Bundi on various occasions had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rana of Mewar. He threw in his lot with Rana Pratap and raised the standard of rebellion and started plundering the territories of Bundi. Akbar sent a force which included Safdar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Muhammad Hussain Shaikh Kandhar Rai, Jaudun Sultan, Jaimal and other warriors to suppress the rebellion.<sup>47</sup> But this army proved ineffective, rather it was defeated by Dauda.

The failure against Dauda was detrimental to the Mughal prestige particularly at a period when Akbar was taking all steps to impress the invincibility of the Mughal might upon the minds of the Rajputs. Consequently, on March 30, 1577 Akbar sent another army under the command of Zain Khan Kokaltash accompanied by Rao Surjan, Bhoj, Ram Chand, Karan Rai and others. Simultaneously an order was issued to the force sent on the first occasion to co-operate with this force. It is significant that after the failure of the first attempt Akbar sent Rao Surjan and Bhoj and a few other Rajput Chiefs. The purpose obviously seems to have been to isolate Dauda and prevent him from getting any local assistance. Presence of Rao Surjan would make things appear like the rebellion of a son against his father. This attempt proved successful. The fort of Bundi was captured but Dauda escaped

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45. The Rajputs who revolted against the Imperial power in 1576 A.D. were : Rao Surtan of Sirohi, Raj Khan of Jhalor, Rawal Pratap of Dungarpur, Askaran of Banswara, Narayan Das of Idar and Chandra Sen Rathor at Nadol.

46. The battle of Haldighati took place between the Imperial forces and Rana Pratap on 21st June, 1576 A.D.

47. *Akbarnama*, tr., iii, 258.

and he took himself to the ravines of the hilly country-side. After the expulsion of Dauda, Akbar ordered Zain Khan Kokaltash to place Bhoj with some force in Bundi to protect it and to proceed to the court personally accompanied by Rao Surjan Hada.<sup>48</sup> Kokaltash had hardly left the place when he heard that Dauda had again started disturbances in Bundi. He then sent Rao Surjan to the court alone and himself returned to Bundi to set things right. It was after the arrival of Rao Surjan Hada to the Imperial court that Emperor Akbar granted a mansab of 2000 to the Hada Chief.<sup>49</sup> Zain Khan too arrived in the Mughal court after setting the affairs in Bundi.

Being compelled to leave Bundi, Dauda went to Rana Pratap who after the battle of Haldighati was trying to retrieve his position from the hilly defiles of Aravali. Frederick Augustus has aptly remarked on Dauda's association with Rana Pratap that "It is at this point that the five threads which knit together the Rajput insurrections, became visible and the inference of common centre follows immediately upon the consideration that Dauda's family stood in special relation to the house of Mewar in as much as the aged Surjan had been its vassal before Akbar's first campaign in Rajput territories."<sup>50</sup>

The recall of Zain Khan Kokaltash to Imperial encouraged Dauda, who returned to Bundi and started plundering the countryside and also sacked Bundi. These fresh disturbances in Bundi forced the Emperor to send Zain Khan again who now set up his headquarters at Bundi and started operation against Dauda. Dauda on his part collected a small force and took up his position on the hill of Untgardan. His aim was to wait for some favourable opportunity to make a surprise attack on the forces of Zain Khan. But the Mughal general was an experienced commander and instead of wasting time he at once divided his force into three groups and advanced on the hill from three sides. He personally in company of Bhoj

48. *ibid.*, 284.

49. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 450; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 115-16.

50. *The Emperor Akbar*, i, 242.

moved up with the assistance of some guides. Unnoticed they practically reached the top where upon Dauda took the offensive and attacked the forces. A fierce fight took place, but the sword proved no match to the musketry. Dauda's camp became a scene of confusion. Three of his trusted men were killed and many others deserted him. Dauda was defeated with a loss of more than hundred men. But he managed to escape.

It was after this victory that the Emperor restored Bhoj at Bundi to look after the administration of Bundi in the absence of his father<sup>51</sup> with the responsibility of maintaining law and order in that region.

However, in exile Dauda soon realised that it would not be possible for him to elude the Mughal forces for long. He also realised that there was no possibility of getting help from any quarter. Under the circumstances when Dauda was vacillating between submission to the Mughal Emperor and continuation of resistance, he was prevailed upon Shahbaz Khan, a shrewd diplomat then posted at Ajmer to deal with Rana Pratap, to submit to the Emperor. He also gave assurance of getting Imperial pardon for Dauda. Thus Dauda submitted and was brought to the court where Akbar received him with princely favours.<sup>52</sup>

Dauda was then posted in the Punjab,<sup>53</sup> but we do not find mention of the rank or the office that was assigned to him. In the Punjab, Dauda was greatly disappointed. May be Shahbaz Khan promised him of some good post and rank which he did not receive from the Emperor or may be it was the unbridled spirit of the Rajput Prince which soon began to irk under subordination. Dauda had neither received any robe of honour nor any mansab which normally was the practice of Akbar for those princes who submitted to him. Abul Fazl only mentions that he was received with princely favours but

51. *Akbarnama*, tr., iii, 286.

52. *Ibid.*, 355; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 116.

53. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 116.

is silent about the post and mansab. Other contemporary sources also do not throw any light on this aspect. This silence leads us to conclude that Dauda was given some nominal appointment and that too in the Punjab only to keep him away from his people and to keep him weak because Akbar was not sure of Dauda's loyalty. What must have been felt most by Dauda was that his younger brother was given the mansab of 900<sup>54</sup> and was posted in Bundi. Being thus disillusioned about the advantages of the Mughal service and the magnanimity of the Mughal Emperor he decided to turn to his own path of freedom and after a brief stay in the Punjab, he left the province without permission. The Mughal forces failed to tame the rebellious spirit of this Hada Prince, who, however found peace in eternal rest in August, 1585 A.D.<sup>55</sup> which also brought peace to Bundi.

Rao Surjan's services were again requisitioned in 1580 A.D. when revolt broke out in Bihar. An army consisting of Raja Todar Mal, Shaikh Farid Bakshi and others was sent to crush the rebellion. Rao Surjan who was then in Allahabad was ordered to join the army and to act harmoniously.<sup>56</sup> He occupied a position in the centre with Tarsun and Raja Todar Mal.<sup>57</sup> In crushing the revolt Rao Surjan played an important role which was recognised by the Emperor. Thereafter, Rao Surjan Hada was sent with an army against the Mirzas in Kabul who had revolted in June, 1581 A.D. This time he was placed with Man Singh in the vanguard.<sup>58</sup>

Emperor Akbar had to face another revolt in his Empire. This was a fresh revolt in Bengal. The Emperor had earlier twice subdued the revolts but in 1583 A.D. they again raised the banner of revolt against the Imperial power. Akbar had

54. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 510. As mentioned in *Maasir ul Umra* (i, 408) Bhoj had the mansab of 1000 throughout the reign of Akbar.

55. *Akbarnama*, tr., iii, 706; *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 450; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 116.

56. *Akbarnama*, tr., iii, 422.

57. *ibid.*, 451-53.

58. *ibid.*, 518-19.

to send an army under Zain Khan Koka. The Emperor also ordered Rao Surjan to accompany him. Besides others, he received a khilat and a special horse from the Emperor at the time of his appointment in Bengal. The inclusion of Rao Surjan Hada in the army sent to Bengal is an indication of Emperor's appreciation of the services rendered by Rao Surjan Hada in suppressing the rebellion in Bihar. The placing of the Hada Chief in the centre with the chief commander, Raja Todar Mal also indicate that the Hada Chief must have been regarded as a useful commander in the Mughal army. However, this time the army sent to crush the rebellion in Bengal did not move out of the capital as the news of victory arrived<sup>59</sup> before it could start.

Rao Surjan Hada for a brief period had also been associated with the council that was formed to deal with religious matters. Prince Daniel was appointed as "Superintendent of faith and religion and of wisdom and work."<sup>60</sup> Rao Surjan Hada with others was assigned the work of laying before the Emperor all matters relating to the interpretation of religion.

However, he was again sent to Banaras where he died in 1585 A.D.<sup>61</sup> He left behind him two sons—Bhoj and Rai Mal. The youngest son Rai Mal received Paliath in jagir and resided there. Bhoj succeeded his father in Bundi in 1585 A.D. It may be recalled that the Emperor after conquering Bundi from Dauda in 1577 A.D. handed it over to Bhoj who administered it on behalf of his father. Now after the death of Rao Surjan Hada, the Emperor recognised him as the Chief of Bundi and he retained the mansab of 900.<sup>62</sup>

Rao Bhoj had served the Emperor during the life-time of his father. He had distinguished himself in the Mughal army.

59. *Ibid.*, 591.

60. *Ibid.*, 598.

61. Tod, 384, *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 63.

62. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., 510,

Now as the Chief of Bundi he occupied a position among the nobles of Akbar.

During the end of the sixteenth century the Emperor thought to conquer Orissa that was held by the Afghans. Raja Man Singh was appointed to deal with the Afghans in Orissa. First the Raja sent his son Jagat Singh to conquer Orissa in 1590 A.D. but he failed in his campaign. Therefore, on 3rd November, 1591 A.D. the Raja personally started to conquer Orissa. Rao Bhoj who had shown his merits in the earlier campaigns was also taken by him.<sup>63</sup> While arranging his army in the battle-field, Raja Man Singh occupied the position in the centre and Rao Bhoj was placed on his right wing. In the battle that took place, the artillery of the Mughals combined with the efforts of the chivalrous Hadas created havoc on the Afghan army. The Afghans were defeated and they took to their heels. The state of Orissa was thus brought in the Mughal Empire in 1592 A.D. In the conquest of Orissa Rao Bhoj played an important role.

It was during the last few years of his reign that Akbar decided to conquer Deccan. With this aim in view he first sent an army under Prince Murad and Khan Khanan to conquer Ahmednagar but this army failed to achieve much success there. The Emperor recalled this army and sent another army under Prince Daniel and Abul Fazl. Under them was placed Rao Bhoj.<sup>64</sup> The inclusion of Rao Bhoj in this army was due to the fact that by then the Emperor had fully recognised the bravery and loyalty of the Hada Chief. His services in Surat and Orissa were so valuable that the Emperor decided to send this valiant Rajput Chief with an army sent to the Deccan. The Imperial army besieged the fort of Ahmednagar. Chand Sultana gallantly defended the fort but the superior power of the Mughals which was strengthened specially with the inclusion of the chivalrous Hadas foiled all the defence of Chand Sultana. Rao Bhoj himself assaulted a

63. *Masir ul Umra*, ii, 141.

64. *Ibid.*

baston of the fort. The charge of the Hada Chief was so fierce that the force of Ahmednagar could not stand against it and ultimately they gave way. The fort fell into the hands of the Mughals in August, 1600 A.D. Thus we find that Rao Bhoj played an important role in the battle at Ahmednagar also. He again showed his calibre as a military commander and proved that besides courage and valour, the Hadas were the masters in the art of warfare.

The services of Rao Bhoj pleased the Emperor so much that he ordered a new baston to be erected where Rao Bhoj led the assault. It was given the name as Bhoj-boorj. The Emperor also presented to him his own favourite elephant.<sup>65</sup>

Rao Bhoj thus served the Mughals in various campaigns. By dint of his merit and loyalty he earned favour of the Emperor. However, Tod and Gahlot inform us that towards the close of the reign of Emperor Akbar, Rao Bhoj fell from his favours. They have given different versions regarding the displeasure of the Emperor with the Hada Chief but both of them draw the same conclusion. Tod narrates the incident as follows:

"On the death of the queen, Jodha Bai, Akbar commanded a court-mourning; and that all might testify a participation in their master's affliction, an ordinance issued that all the Rajpoot chiefs, as well as the Mooslem leaders, should shave the moustache and the beard. To secure compliance, the royal barbers had the execution of the mandate. But when they come to the quarters of the Haras, in order to remove these tokens of manhood, they were repulsed with buffets and contumely. The enemies of Rao Bhoj aggravated the crime of this resistance, and insinuated to the royal ear that the outrage upon the barbers was accompanied with expression insulting to the memory of the departed princess, who, it will be remembered, was a Rajpootni of Marwar. Akbar

65. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, 85; Tod., 384.

forgetting his vassal's gallant services, commanded that Rao Bhoj should be pinioned and forcibly deprived of his 'mouche'. He might as well have commanded the operation on a tiger. The Haras flew to their arms; the camp was thrown into tumult, and would soon have presented a wide scene of blood-shed, had not the emperor, seasonably repenting of his folly, repaired to the Boondi quarters in person. He expressed his admiration (he might have said his fear) of Hara valour, alighted from his elephant to expostulate with the Rao, who with considerable tact pleaded his father's privileges, and added 'that an eater of pork like him was unworthy the distinction of putting his lip into mourning for the queen.' Akbar, happy to obtain even so much acknowledgement, embraced the Rao, and carried him with him to his own quarters.<sup>66</sup>

Gahlot has narrated another story according to which Emperor Akbar wanted to marry the daughter of Rao Bhoj who was very beautiful. The Hada Chief was not willing to give his daughter to the Mughal Emperor. In the court, the Rao declared that his daughter had been betrothed to Rao Kalla of Jodhpur. The marriage took place in Bundi. The Emperor got enraged over this. Therefore, just after the marriage the Emperor got Rao Kalla murdered.<sup>67</sup>

We may now examine the versions of both the historians. The narration of Tod appears to faulty because of the following reasons. Firstly Akbar did not have any Princess of Jodhpur as his wife. Secondly, Jodha Bai was the title of Jahangir's wife and none of the wives of Akbar had the title of Jodha Bai. Finally, we do not find any such incident in any other records of that period. The Persian as well as non-Persian historians including those writing the history of Rajasthan do not throw any light on this incident. Tod has probably taken this story from the bards.

66. Tod, ii, 384-85.

67. *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 55

Coming to the narration of Gahlot we find that it is also far from the fact. Firstly, while surrendering the fort of Ranthambhor, Rao Surjan Hada had laid down certain conditions of which the first was that none of the Hada Princesses would enter the Mughal harem. Akbar was certainly not an immature person who would offend the feelings of his loyal servants. Secondly, Akbar did not compel any Rajput Chief to give the hands of his daughters to the Mughals. On the contrary the Rajputs themselves offered their daughters to the Mughals for marriage. By establishing matrimonial relations with the Mughals they could expect quick promotions in rank. Finally, how the Emperor at such an advanced stage of life to marry, particularly when he was already facing troubles caused by Prince Salim.

What seems evident is that both the stories are fabricated and incredible. There could be some other reason which the historians have failed to narrate. However, in absence of any authentic information we may conclude that Rao Bhoj never fell from the pleasures of the Emperor. He always remained loyal to the Emperor and for his invaluable services he received awards from him.

The death of Akbar in 1605 A.D. disheartened the Hada Chief. He left the Imperial capital soon after and reached Bundi.

The reign of Akbar marked the beginning of the relations between the Hadas and the Mughals. During his reign the Hadas maintain good relations with the Emperor. Though Dauda revolted against the Imperialists but the Hada Chief, Rao Surjan and thereafter, Rao Bhoj not only maintained cordial relations with the Emperor but also with the chief nobles of the Empire like Raja Man Singh and Abul Fazl under whom he served with Imperial forces in Orissa and Deccan respectively. The Hada Chiefs always did praiseworthy services in return of which they received honour and awards from the Emperor. Therefore, in the death of the Emperor, the Hada Chief saw a loss of his patron.

## Rao Ratan Hada under Jahangir (1605-1628 A.D.)

The relation of the Hadas with Emperor Jahangir is also very significant. In the beginning of the reign of Jahangir, the relations between the Hadas and the Emperor were strained. It is mentioned in *Maasir ul Umra* that Jahangir was annoyed with Rao Bhoj, the Hada Chief. The reason as given in it is that Jahangir wanted to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, son of Raja Man Singh of Amber. Rao Bhoj, who was the maternal grandfather of the Princess, objected to this marriage and therefore, Jahangir got annoyed with him and decided to punish him on his return from Kabul. Further it mentions that before the return of the Emperor from Kabul, he committed suicide in 1607 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The other historians have also followed the statement as given in *Maasir*.<sup>2</sup> However, the statement of *Maasir* needs investigation.

There is no denial of the fact that Jahangir wanted to

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1. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 141..
  2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., §10; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, ii (1931), 541; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 65.

marry the daughter of Jagat Singh. He himself has mentioned in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that he had demanded the hand of the grand-daughter of Raja Man Singh.<sup>3</sup> The question arises, did Rao Bhoj really object to this marriage? Probably Rao Bhoj wanted that like the Hada Princesses his grand-daughter should also not enter into the Mughal harem. One of the conditions that had been laid down by his father and accepted by Emperor Akbar was that no Hada Princess would enter the Mughal harem. But this is not a solid ground for objection. His grand-daughter belonged to the house of the Kachhawahas and not to that of the Hada clan. That term did not apply to the house of the Kachhawahas. The marriages of the Kachhawaha Princesses with the Mughals were common and therefore, the question of his opposing the marriage of his grand-daughter, a Kachhawaha Princess, does not arise. Besides, why Jahangir being an Emperor, would care about the opposition of any person. If he had a will to get married with any Princess he could take her by all means. So the reason given in the *Maasir* about the displeasure of Jahangir with Rao Bhoj is not convincing. It appears that the author of *Maasir* (Shahnawaz Khan) has either concealed some facts or he did not get the facts and mentioned the incident after hearing it from someone.

In order to find out the cause of displeasure of Jahangir with Rao Bhoj we have to trace the activities of Rao Bhoj from the time of Emperor Akbar and the attitude of Jahangir towards these activities.

We know that Rao Bhoj left Agra after the death of Akbar in 1605 A.D. There is no mention in any source why Rao Bhoj left Agra immediately after the death of Akbar. In the death of Akbar Rao Bhoj found the loss of his patron and apprehended danger from the new ruler, Jahangir because of certain reasons. Rao Bhoj was among the great nobles during the reign of Akbar as mentioned by Jahangir in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.<sup>4</sup> He was very closely associated with Raja Man

3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 144.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., ii, 58.

Singh of Amber with whom he went to Orissa and he also assisted Abul Fazl in the Deccan war. Jahangir was jealous of both these nobles. He successfully connived to kill Abul Fazl. Therefore, Rao Bhoj might have realised that Jahangir, after his accession, would punish all those persons who were considered by him as his enemies. He being associated with Raja Man Singh and Abul Fazl, would also be one of those who was on the list of the enemies of Jahangir. Therefore, he left the Imperial capital after the death of Akbar. Though Jahangir after his accession did not punish any person still Rao Bhoj did not come to the Imperial capital. On the accession of Jahangir, Rao Bhoj failed to appear in the court to pay his respects to the new Emperor. We also do not find that Rao Bhoj did any Imperial service during his last days. He remained in Bundi from the time he left Agra in 1605 A.D. till his death. It might be this reason that annoyed the Emperor and he might have decided to punish the Hada Chief for his misbehaviour, but the Emperor could take any step against him he died at his palace in Bundi in 1607 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Rao Bhoj left behind him three sons named Ratan, Hirdya Narayan and Keshav Das.<sup>6</sup> Ratan being the eldest succeeded his father in Bundi in 1607 A.D. Hirdya Narayan continue to administer Kotah<sup>7</sup> and Keshav Das got Deepri as jagir.<sup>8</sup> We do not find that Rao Ratan or any other Hada Prince served the Mughal Emperor at any time during the rule of Rao Bhoj. None of the Princes got mansab from the Emperor. It seems that the Bundi Princes did not enter the Mughal service as long as Rao Bhoj was alive. It is likely that Rao Bhoj who had to remain away from his ancestral dominion in the service of the Mughals, might have entrusted

5. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 141; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 111.

6. Tod, ii, 385; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 85. Gahlot mentions that Rao Bhoj had four sons—Ratan, Hirdya Narayan, Keshav Das and Manhor Das vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 66.

7. According to M.L. Sharma Hirdya Narayan was given Kotah by Rao Bhoj after his accession in Bundi and he ruled independently vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 83. This statement is not correct. It has been explained in the following chapter.

8. Tod, ii, 385; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 85.

the work of administration of Bundi to his eldest son Ratan and that of Kotah to his second son Hirdya Narayan.

The accession of Rao Ratan did not take place under favourable conditions so far as the relations of the Hadas with the Mughals were concerned. As already mentioned the Emperor was annoyed with the father of Rao Ratan and that annoyance continued even after the accession of Rao Ratan. The Emperor probably did not send the customary '*Tika*' to the Hada Chief. However, the displeasure of the Emperor did not last long. Rao Ratan Hada who was tactful decided to please the Emperor at the earliest opportunity which he got when the Emperor returned to Agra after his hunting expedition. Here Rao Ratan came to his court and waited on him. He presented to the Emperor three elephants, one of which was valued at Rs. 15,000. The Emperor liked that elephant very much and included it among his private elephants and named it as Ratangaj.<sup>9</sup> The Emperor was so much pleased with the Hada Chief that he granted him a mansab of 1500 zat and 1240 sawar<sup>10</sup> and conferred on him the title of Sarbuland Rai<sup>11</sup>. Thus we find that displeasure of the Emperor was removed by the Hada Chief by presenting valuable elephants. In other words the presentation of the valuable gifts pleased the Emperor so much that he gave up his anger and raised the Hada Chief Rao Ratan to a good position with a mansab of 1500 zat and 1240 sawar while his father Rao Bhoj had the mansab of only 900 at the time of his death.

The services of Rao Ratan were utilised in 1614 for the first time by the Emperor against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar.

9. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 140.

10. As mentioned in *Tuzuk*, i, 299, the mansab of Rao Ratan was increased by 500 zat and 260 sawar and that came to 2000 zat and 1500 sawar in 1615 A.D. This means that the Hada Chief had already the mansab of 1500 zat and 1240 sawar which it seems had been granted to him sometimes in 1608 A.D. when the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Sarbuland Rai.

11. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 140; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 209; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 111; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 85.

The state of Mewar had not yet been subdued. Earlier twice in 1605 and 1608 A.D. the Imperial forces had failed to achieve any success in Mewar. It was in 1613 A.D. that Emperor Jahangir decided to send an army again to bring the Rana of Mewar under submission. This time the Emperor appointed Prince Khurram to command the army against the Rana. Among others, Rao Ratan Hada was ordered to accompany the Prince.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that the Hadas who were once the feudatory Chiefs of Mewar went to fight against the ruler of the same state under the Imperial command to make the Rana submit to the Mughal Emperor.

The army under the chief command of Prince Khurram left the Imperial capital in early 1614 A.D. The Prince opened the campaign sometimes in April, 1614 A.D. with consummate ability and ruthless severity. The army of Mewar was also strong. The war between the Mughals and the Sisodias was fierce. Both the sides exerted themselves to overpower the other. But the Mughal army besides having large resources had the advantage of having the Rajputs like the Hadas who were fighters as a class by themselves. Earlier also they had fought against the Sisodias on various occasions and therefore, were very well acquainted with their war tactics. The undaunted courage of the Hadas combined with the ruthlessness of Prince Khurram forced Rana Amar Singh to sue for peace. The war ended with the ratification of the treaty between the Mughals and the Rana.

We are not aware of the role that Rao Ratan Hada played in the war against the Rana of Mewar. The Persian as well as Rajasthani sources are silent about it. However, we find that after the return of the Imperial army to Ajmer where the Emperor had encamped during the operations in Mewar, the mansab of Rao Ratan Hada was increased by 500 zat and 260 sawar raising it to 2000 zat and 1500 sawar in 1615 A.D.<sup>13</sup> The increase in the mansab of the Hada Chief clearly indicates

12. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 209; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 800; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 66.

13. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 299

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13. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 299

that Rao Ratan Hada must have done valuable service in the war against the Rana of Mewar in return of which he was awarded with a promotion of rank.

It appears that Rao Ratan Hada remained in the Imperial camp which was at Ajmer till 1616 A.D. Here the Emperor heard that none of the generals sent to the Deccan from time to time since 1610 A.D. had succeeded in their campaigns against Malik Ambar. On the contrary they had suffered reverses with loss of territories. Therefore, the Emperor decided to send Prince Khurram with a large force to retrieve the prestige of the Mughals. At that time Prince Khurram was given the title of the Shah. Rao Ratan Hada who had already done good services against Mewar was also ordered to accompany the Prince.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that Shah Khurram who had himself witnessed the undaunted courage of the Hada Chief might have recommended his appointment with him in the Deccan. The army under Shah Khurram left Ajmer in October, 1616 A.D. and reached Burhanpur on 6th March, 1617 A.D. This time no war took place between the Mughals and Malik Ambar. The latter sued for peace and surrendered all the Mughal territories that had been occupied by him. Shah Khurram, thereafter, made necessary arrangements in the Deccan and returned to Mandu where the Emperor was stationed. Rao Ratan was left in the Deccan to assist the governor there.

The services of the Hadas were again utilised by the Emperor in the conquest of the fort of Kangra. After the failure of the first expedition (1615 A.D.) sent to conquer that fort, the Emperor appointed Prince Shahjahan<sup>15</sup> to lead an

14. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 209. According to it the Hada Chief was appointed in the Deccan with Prince Khurram in the 10th year of Jahangir's reign, but actually the Prince was sent to the Deccan in the 11th year of his reign vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 337.

15. Shah Khurram was given the title of Shahjahan after his return from the Deccan in October, 1617 A.D. vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., i, 395.

army in Kangra. Since the conquest of the fort of Kangra was a difficult task, the Emperor thought it necessary to send the valiant Hada Rajputs. The Hada Chief Rao Ratan was then in the Deccan, therefore, the Emperor ordered his younger brother Hirdya Narayan, the jagirdar of Kotah to lead the Hada contingent<sup>16</sup>. This army under Prince Shahjahan left for Kangra in 1618 A.D. After a siege of about 14 months, the Imperialists succeeded in conquering the fort on 16th November, 1620 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

In the Deccan, the troubles again started after the return of Shahjahan in 1617 A.D. Malik Ambar renewed his operations against the Imperialists. It was only with the efforts of the Hada contingent under their Chief Rao Ratan that the Imperialists somehow or the other checked the onslaught of Malik Ambar. They tried their best to maintain the position of the Imperialists. In recognition of the valuable services rendered by Rao Ratan Hada the Emperor raised his mansab to 2500 zat and 1500 sawar.<sup>18</sup> But the efforts of the Hadas could prove of no avail. Malik Ambar himself was very powerful and ambitious and he made vigorous attacks on the Imperialists. Emperor Jahangir could not send any army from the centre as it was busy in the conquest of the fort of Kangra. Malik Ambar got an upper hand and he succeeded in conquering some districts of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khandesh and forced the Imperialists to leave Balaghat and retreat to Burhanpur.<sup>19</sup>

Soon after the return of Prince Shahjahan from Kangra in November, 1620 A.D. the Emperor sent an army under his command to the Deccan to deal with Malik Ambar.<sup>20</sup> Among the nobles, Hirdya Narayan was promoted to the rank of 900 zat and 600 sawar and was ordered to accompany the Prince

16. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., ii, 25.

17. *ibid.*, 185; *History of Jahangir*, 270.

18. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., ii, 91.

19. *ibid.*, 188-90.

20. *ibid.*, 190.

to the Deccan.<sup>21</sup> The promotion and appointment of Hirdya Narayan in the Deccen shows that Hirda Narayan must have fought with great valour and courage in the battle in Kangra. Besides, the Hadas by then had established their reputation as great warriors and for this reason they were included in all the important and difficult campaigns. At that time Rao Ratan Hada was already in the Deccan. To further strengthened the army, one more Hada contingent was ordered to accompany the Prince under the command of Hirdya Narayan Hada which would be beneficial to the Mughals in the event of a war with powerful Malik Ambar.

As soon as Malik Ambar heard the news of the arrival of the Imperial army in the Deccan under Prince Shahjahan, he avoided war. He vacated the territories occupied by him and sued for peace. Under the agreement Malik Ambar not only ceded all the territories taken by him but surrendered 14 *koss* of adjoining territories and paid fifty lakhs of rupees as tribute.<sup>22</sup>

It was during the end of 1622 A.D. that Shahjahan raised the standard of rebellion against the Imperial authority. The Emperor, therefore, recalled Prince Parvez from Bihar and Mahabat Khan from Bengal. Rao Ratan Hada who was in the Deccan, was also summoned. He arrived at the Mughal court in April, 1623 A.D. The Emperor who was very much pleased with him for his meritorious services honoured him with a special jewelled dagger and a *phool katar*.<sup>23</sup>

The Emperor sent an army under the chief command of Prince Parvez with Mahabat Khan as second in command to crush the rebellion of Shahjahan. Under him was placed Rao Ratan Hada, the Chief of Bundi besides the Chiefs of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Orccha. Rao Ratan Hada in obedience of the Imperial orders joined Prince Parvez alongwith both of his

21. *ibid.*, 191.

22. *ibid.*, 205.

23. *ibid.*, 257.

sons—Madho Singh and Hari Singh and brother Hirdya Narayan.<sup>24</sup>

Shahjahan, who had marched from Mandu to Agra, was defeated at Bilochpur and on reaching back to Mandu he was again defeated at Kaliyadih.<sup>25</sup> The rebel Prince fled to Asir and conquered the fort. He left a part of his harem, establishment and luggage in the fort of Asir under the charge of Gopal Das, a former servant of Rao Ratan Hada. He then marched to Burhanpur. From there he sent an army under Abdulla Khan to Gujarat and he himself opened negotiations with Malik Ambar who at one time was his antagonist. Neither the army of the rebel Prince sent to Gujarat nor the Prince himself could achieve any success in the Deccan. Disgusted and disappointed at every corner, he tried to reconcile with his father. He opened negotiations with Mahabat Khan through Rao Ratan Hada.<sup>26</sup>

Though Rao Ratan Hada was fighting against the rebel Prince but he appears to have a soft corner for him. Another reason may be that the Hada Chief found in Shahjahan a more determined and balanced person than Prince Parvez and therefore, might have calculated him to be a possible successor in the long run. Besides, Shahjahan had a number of supporters in and outside the Mughal court. Realising this Rao Ratan Hada pleaded the case of Shahjahan with sincerity but Mahabat Khan was very shrewd and he did not yield to the request of the Hada Chief. Shahjahan, thus failed in this mission also.

Having failed in his efforts to reconcile with his father Shahjahan moved to Golkunda and from there he marched to Orissa which fell to him easily as its governor fled from there. Thereafter he conquered Bardawan, Akbarnagar and Dacca.<sup>27</sup> Shahjahan then sent an army to Bihar which conquered the

24. Tod, ii, 385; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 825; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 89.

25. *History of Jahangir*, 310.

26. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr., ii, 278; *History of Jahangir*, 314.

27. *History of Jahangir*, 318-23.

fort of Rohtas.<sup>28</sup>

Encouraged with such a series of success Shahjahan decided to reduce Allahabad. He sent Abdulla Khan and Bhim Singh Sisodia in advance to conquer the fort of Allahabad and himself followed them. He conquered Jaunpur. The Emperor ordered Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan to pursue the rebels at Allahabad. Here a decisive battle took place in which the rebels were defeated. Shahjahan, however, escaped from there. He retreated to Rohtas.<sup>29</sup> Though the Imperialists won the battle but Hirdya Narayan left the Imperial camp without permission.<sup>30</sup>

The Imperial forces continued to hunt down the rebel Prince. But this time Rao Ratan Hada, who was much acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan, was entrusted with the government of Burhanpur and from there to administer the affairs of the Deccan in consultation with Mulla Muhammad Lari.<sup>31</sup> Rao Ratan was given this high post because he was known for "the incarnation of loyalty and chivalry."<sup>32</sup> Mulla Muhammad was also asked to assist the Hada Chief with 5000 horses.

Taking advantage of the rebellion of Shahjahan, Malik Ambar thought to conquer Bijapur. He attacked it. The Bijapuris appealed for help to the Mughals. Mulla Muhammad was, therefore, ordered to march for the help of the Bijapuris but the combined forces of Bijapuris and the Imperialists were defeated by Malik Ambar. Some of the soldiers fled and took shelter with Rao Ratan Hada in Burhanpur.<sup>33</sup>

28. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, 221-22; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, i 346; *History of Jahangir*, 324; Sharma, M.L.—*op. cit.*, 93.

29. *History of Jahangir*, 325-27.

30. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2496; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 95.

31. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, 235; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, i, 348; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 209; Tod, ii, 385; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 93-94.

32. *History of Jahangir*, 331.

33. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, 236-37; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, i, 348.

Shahjahan, after his defeat at Allahabad, again went to the Deccan and this time he successfully negotiated with Malik Ambar who had already defeated the Imperial forces in Bijapur. While Malik Ambar was to attack Ahmadnagar, the Prince was to take the fort of Burhanpur. The rebels accordingly laid siege to this fort. There Rao Ratan Hada had a small force but he was not perturbed. He was ordered not to give fight to the rebels till reinforcement reached there.<sup>34</sup> He accordingly defended the fort with a band of small army. He remained so firm in defence of the fort that on many occasions he forced Yakub Khan, the commander of the rebel army to raise the siege. Shahjahan then divided his army into two groups—one under Abdulla Khan and other under Shah Quli Khan. Thus the rebels attacked the fort from two sides.<sup>35</sup> The Hadas, brave as they were, proved too strong for the rebels. On the one side the Imperial army under Rao Ratan Hada attacked the army under Abdulla Khan and defeated it, on the other side Madho Singh, the son of the Hada Chief fought with the rebel army under Shah Quli Khan but the son of the Hada Chief could not achieve success over the enemy.<sup>36</sup> Soon Rao Ratan Hada came to the rescue of his son. He mounted on his elephant named 'Jagjot' and fell on the rebels. The rebels completely failed to face this attack of the Hadas and they were defeated.<sup>37</sup> However, Shahjahan continued to fight for sometime but the chivalrous Hadas forced him to leave the field. The Imperialists under the leadership of Rao Ratan Hada achieved success over the rebels but not before both of his sons—Madho Singh and Hari Singh were seriously wounded.<sup>38</sup>

Surya Mal Misrn informs us that after his defeat at Burhanpur, Shahjahan was captured by Rao Ratan Hada.<sup>39</sup> He was kept in Burhanpur under the custody of Hari Singh,

34. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 209; Prasad, Beni—*op. cit.*, 333.

35. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210; *History of Jahangir*, 334.

36. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210.

37. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, 243-44; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, i, 349-50; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210.

38. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 96-97.

39. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2499.

the youngest son of the Hada Chief. Hari Singh did not behave with the Prince well. He used to harass the Prince as if he was an ordinary prisoner.<sup>40</sup> He launched a complaint with the Hada Chief who removed Hari Singh from that position and in his place he appointed Madho Singh with instructions to treat the Prince with proper dignity. Madho Singh accordingly provided all help and favours to the rebel Prince.<sup>41</sup> Soon the Emperor sent an order to produce the Prince in the court. Rao Ratan Hada did not want that Prince Shahjahan should be produced in the court because in that case he apprehended danger of punishment to the Prince by the Emperor. Rao Ratan Hada definitely had leaning towards the Prince. The repeated orders from the Emperor put the Hada Chief into difficult position. On the one hand there were Imperial orders and on the other the patronage of the Prince and his request to save his life. Rao Ratan Hada who was then not in Burhanpur sent a secret letter to one Dawarka Das, the qilader of the fort ordering him to manage the escape of the Prince.<sup>42</sup>

40. हरि कुमर दास जिम मोर्हि रख्खे हहा ।

कैद बिच कैद बाबा कहों मैं कहा ?

व्यजन दुरवात भरवात हुक्का बनैं ।

हाँ करों जो न, नासा टिपोरे हनैं ॥

पूफली सद्य खैबो न अवसर परहू

कोहु अटकें न तिहि सर्व वदली करहु ।

*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2510.

41. अप्प सुत माधवर्हि रहन तेहैं अक्खयो ।

पास तस और भट वृद्ध थप्पे प्रथित ।

सूचि सुत सुभट सब करहु याको कथित ।

*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2511.

42. बुरहानपुर इत मुक्कल्यो स्व निदेस पत्रहु वेगही,

निज दण्डनायक द्वारिकादिक दास कूरम तैं कही ।

माधव कुमार भतीज केसव अन्यतर मिलवाइ कैं,

प्रच्छन्न खुरूम हि कदिवेहु निसीथ ओसर पाइकैं ।

जानैं न कोहु खकीयजन अरु द्रंग जन न सुनै जया,

रचि त्यो प्रबन्ध निकासी रख्खहु साह सतीत सर्वथा ।

(Contd.)

After his escape the Prince moved to Rohangarh in Balaghat but as he had neither the men nor the money to raise an army for continuing his struggle with the Imperialists and he submitted to the Emperor.<sup>43</sup>

The incident of the arrest and escape of Prince Shahjahan as mentioned by Surya Mal Misrn has not been mentioned by any Persian historians. The reason for the silence of the Persian historian on this issue is very clear. There are only two sources—*Maasir-i-Jahangiri* and *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* which provide information about this important period. But both works were completed in the early years of Shahjahan's reign—1630 and 1632 A.D. respectively. The authors of these works might have deliberately avoided mentioning this incident as they did not like to narrate an incident which was derogatory to the then Emperor, Shahjahan. The modern historians have followed the Persian historians and therefore, they also did not take notice of this important aspect. But certainly the story as given by Surya Mal Misrn has credibility.

Commenting on the credibility of this incident M. L. Sharma mentions that the correctness of the narration is revealed from the latter incidents that took place after the accession of Shahjahan. He, after his accession, called Hari Singh the youngest son of Rao Ratan Hada in the court but Rao Ratan Hada recollecting the days when Hari Singh harassed Shahjahan while in confinement in Burhanpur apprehended evil designs of the Emperor. Therefore, he pretended that Hari Singh had gone mad and could not present himself in the court.<sup>44</sup> The Emperor punished the Hada Chief by snatching seven parganas from his dominion for not obeying the orders.<sup>45</sup> This clearly reveals that Emperor Shahjahan had

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लक्खरी अपन रकिख सुत हरि सिंह पै हितलाइके,  
आसान वृदिय के वच्यो इम लेख लेहु त्रिखाइके ।

*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2523-24.

43. *History of Jahangir*, 336.

44. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 103, fn.

45. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2547.

grudge against Hari Singh and wanted to punish him and the Hada Chief Rao Ratan knew all this, saved his son at the cost of a part of his territories.

Further we also find that inspite of participating actively against Shahjahan during his revolt, the Hada Chief and his son Madho Singh received favours from Shahjahan after his accession. While he confirmed Rao Ratan Hada in his position, he gave special favours to Madho Singh. He installed him in Kotah after the death of Rao Ratan as an independent ruler with a mansab of 2500 zat and 1500 sawar. That Emperor Shahjahan showered so much favours on Madho Singh can only be explained on the grounds of the incident of arrest of Prince Shahjahan and the behaviour of Madho Singh Hada towards him as a jailor. Thus there is no reason to disbelieve the narration of Surya Mal Misrn that Shahjahan was arrested after his defeat at Burhanpur and was kept under the custody of Madho Singh, the son of the Hada Chief, but was made to escape when the Emperor ordered him to produce the Prince in the court. Though the Hada Chief disobeyed the Imperial orders but Emperor Jahangir might not have known it because just after his escape, Shahjahan himself submitted to the Emperor.

Thus ended the rebellion of Prince Shahjahan. This rebellion proved to be of far reaching consequence to the house of the Hadas. The Hada Chief and his sons played significant role in crushing the rebellion of Shahjahan. At every quarter specially in the Deccan they stood as a bulwark against the rebel Prince who failed to gain any success against the stiff resistance of the Hadas. The Emperor became very much pleased with the Hada Chief. He awarded him with the government of Burhanpur. He also honoured him by raising his manab to 5000 zat and 5000 sawar and by giving him the title of Ram Raja the title which was held by the rulers of the Deccan. The Hada Chief received this honour on 10th Jammadi ul Sani, 1033 A.H./20th March, 1624 A.D.<sup>46</sup>

46. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, 244; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210; Muhammad Hadi (Elliot & Dowson, vi, 396). Khafi Khan mentions that the mansab of Rao Ratan Hada was raised to 4000 vide *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, i, 367, but it is not correct.

To Madho Singh, the second son of Rao Ratan, who also did valuable services against the rebel Prince, the Emperor conferred the jagir of Kotah. This region was earlier held by Hirdya Narayan, the brother of the Hada Chief. Though he performed good services in the campaigns in which he was sent but in the battle that took place at Allahabad between the Imperialists and the rebel Prince, Hirdya Narayan fled from there while the battle was going on. The Emperor might have thought that he would be in league with the rebels and therefore, his action was taken as an act of treachery. As a punishment he ordered Rao Ratan to strip Hirdya Narayan of the jagir of Kotah and give it to Madho Singh as a reward for his services.<sup>47</sup> Commenting on the grant of Kotah to Madho Singh, Tod has aptly remarked, "From this period, therefore, dates the partition of Harouti, when the Emperor, in his desire to reward Madho Singh overlooked the greater services of his father. But in this Jahangir did not act without design; on the contrary, he dreaded the union of so much power in the hands of this brave race as pregnant with danger, and well knew that by dividing he could always rule both, the one through the other."<sup>48</sup>

The revolt of Shahjahan is important as far as the shrewdness and astuteness of the Hadas are concerned. The Hadas obeyed the orders of the Emperor with sincerity and loyalty and performed their duties to crush the rebellion of Shahjahan. At every quarter they played a dominating role in defeating the rebel Prince, yet they did nothing to displease the Prince also because they could see in Shahjahan a possible future Emperor. Therefore, they adopted a lenient attitude towards him whenever they found an opportunity. First the Hada Chief sincerely pleaded with Mahabat Khan to persuade the Emperor to pardon the Prince because he had sent petition for reconciliation with his father. But Rao Ratan failed to obtain pardon for the Prince. Then while the Prince was in confinement at Burhanpur under the custody of the Hada Chief he provided all favours to him. So much so he did not like that the Prince should be punished by the Emperor, he

47. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2496; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 104.

48. Tod, ii, 386.

contrary to the orders of the Emperor, managed for his escape from the prison. By adopting this policy Rao Ratan not only secured the high position in Mughal court but after the accession of Shahjahan he continued to hold the same position. His son Madho Singh also received favours both from Jahangir and Shahjahan because he pleased both of them.

Rao Ratan Hada was then ordered to march against the Kheechi Chauhans of Mau. The Hada Chief alongwith his brothers—Hirdya Narayan and Keshav Das and sons—Madho Singh and Hari Singh complied with the Imperial orders. The Hadas attacked the Kheechis and defeated them at the cost of the life of Keshav Das. With him hundred soldiers were also killed. The Hada Chief snatched from the Kheechis the pargana of Garh, Gagraun, Mau and Chahrni.<sup>49</sup> Probably at this time the Emperor granted these parganas to the Hada Chief.

Rao Ratan Hada and his sons had become known for their courage and valour. The Emperor fully recognised the merits of the Hadas and therefore, in all the difficult campaigns they were sent. One such campaign was sent against Darya Khan who was leading a life of riot and rapin near Mewar. His activities disturbed the Mughal territories there. The Emperor, therefore, sent a force under Rao Ratan Hada to subdue the recalcitrant. Rao Ratan Hada in accordance with the Imperial orders marched against Darya Khan and defeated him. He was captured and produced before the Emperor.

The services of the Hada Chief against Darya Khan were very valuable. With the defeat of Darya Khan the Mughal territory on the borders of Mewar became safe. For these services the Emperor gave to Rao Ratan a kettledrum, yellow and red flag as special marks of honour. The Emperor further granted the privilege to Rao Ratan Hada to carry the yellow

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49. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2479-80; *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 568, fn.4; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 86.

banner in the state processions.<sup>50</sup>

The relations of the Hadas with the Mughals during the reign of Jahangir is significant. During the reign of Jahangir relations between the two remained cordial except for a brief period from 1605 to 1608 A.D. when the Emperor was displeased with the Hadas. Thereafter, the Hadas served the Emperor with sincerity and devotion. They established their position in the Mughal court and were known for their courage, valour and loyalty. The Emperor also had full trust in the Hada Chief and therefore, at times entrusted the command of the army specially in the Deccan against the rebel Prince, Kheechis in Mau and also against Darya Khan. The services of the Hadas against the rebel Prince Shahjahan, were unique. On the rebellion of Shahjahan and the services of Rao Ratan, Tod has correctly commented, "The lake had burst, the waters were rushing out; where now the remedy? The house of Jahangir was departing; it was sustained by Rao Ratan.<sup>51</sup> In return of his meritorious service the Hada Chief was awarded promotion in rank from time to time and at the end of Jahangir's reign the mansab of the Hada Chief was 5000 zat and 5000 sawar, with honour of the title of Ram Raja and gifts of kettledrum, yellow banner and a red flag. It is a point to be noted that Rao Ratan Hada held the mansab of 2500 zat and 1500 sawar in 1619 A.D. and from this rank his mansab was raised to 5000 zat and 5000 sawar just after the rebellion of Shahjahan. This rise in his mansab itself speaks of the services that the Hada Chief did for the Mughals during the period from 1619 to 1624 A.D. Such honour and prestige that Rao Ratan received from the Emperor was never received by his ancestors and his successors also did not receive such a position as will be seen in the following chapters. Thus it is not wrong to conclude that this was the glorious period for the Hadas as far as their relations with the Mughal Emperors are concerned.

50. Tod, ii, 386; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 85.

51. Tod, ii, 385.

## **Division of the Hadas and Their Services to the Mughals (1628-1658 A.D.).**

The Hada Chief Rao Ratan had acquired a good position and prestige in the Mughal Court during the reign of Jahangir. This honour he received in return of his services during that reign specially for the services he rendered against the rebel Prince Shahjahan but it was during that period that he also won over the Prince by providing all possible help in his adverse days. Shahjahan, after his accession had not forgotten the considerations shown by the Hada Chief and realised that whatever actions were taken by him were only in compliance of the Imperial orders. He had also not forgotten the regards shown to him by Madho Singh, son of the Hada Chief while serving as his jailor. These considerations led Shahjahan to show favours to the house of the Hadas.

After his accession, Shahjahan granted the mansab of 1000 zat and 600 sawar to Madho Singh on 1st Rajab, 1037 A.H./ 27th February, 1628 A.D.<sup>1</sup> On 8th Rajab, 1037 A.H./5th

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1. *Badshahinama*, i, pt.i, 184; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 453.

March, 1628 A.D. Rao Ratan Hada came from his watan, Bundi to pay his respect to the Emperor. The Emperor confirmed him in his jagir of Hadauti as well as his mansab of 5000 zat and 5000 sawar. The Emperor also honoured the Hada Chief with a flag, drum, jewelled dagger, horse with silver trappings and an elephant.<sup>2</sup>

The Hada Chief, Rao Ratan was soon called upon to render military service when the Uzbeks under the command of Nazr Muhammad invested Kabul. The Emperor ordered Mahabat Khan to march against the invader to Kabul. Rao Ratan Hada was ordered to accompany the Imperial commander.<sup>3</sup>

The appointment of the Hadas against the Uzbeks is very significant. The Uzbeks were great warriors and it was not an easy task for the Imperial forces to subdue them unless the Imperialists had the strength of equally brave warriors. The Emperor found in the Hadas that courage and valour and therefore, thought it proper to send them against the valiant Uzbeks under their Chief, Rao Ratan. But before this army reached Kabul, Lashkar Khan beat back the attack of Nazr Muhammad who retreated to his own country. The news of the defeat of Nazr Muhammad was conveyed to the Emperor on 9th Muharram, 1038 A.H./ 29th August, 1629 A.D. The Emperor, therefore, recalled Mahabat Khan.

In the second year of the reign, Shahjahan had to face the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi who fled from Agra on 26th Safar, 1039 A.H./ 3rd October, 1629 A.D. The Emperor immediately ordered Khawaja Abul Hasan to pursue the rebel. He was assisted besides other mansabdars, by Madho Singh, son of Rao Ratan Hada.<sup>4</sup> The Imperialist overtook the rebel at Dholpur where he was forced to give battle. In the encounter with the Imperial forces, Khan Jahan lost two of his sons and

2. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 185-88; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210.

3. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 212; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 210; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 331.

4. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 276; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 453; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 332.

a son-in-law. He was defeated but he managed to escape. He crossed Chambal with his two other sons.

Khan Jahan after his defeat went to the kingdom of Ahmednagar where the Nizamshah welcomed him. The Emperor who had also reached Khandesh sent three armies against the rebel. One army was commanded by Iradat Khan. His contingent included the Hadas under Ram Chand Hada.<sup>5</sup> The second was commanded by Raja Gaj Singh Rathor and the third army was sent under the command of Shaista Khan which also had a contingent of the Hadas under the command of Madho Singh Hada.<sup>6</sup>

The Emperor further made arrangements in the Deccan to keep a check on the movements of the rebel. Therefore, 12th Shaban, 1039 A. H./17th March, 1630 A. D. he ordered Rao Ratan Hada to lead an army towards Talingana. He was accompanied by his grandson, Inder Sal Hada. A large number of mansabdars, ahdis, bowmen and barkandaz total of which was 10,000 were placed under the command of the Hada Chief. He was ordered to block the path of the rebel in Basam in Berar and to conquer Talingana at an opportune time.<sup>7</sup> Thus it was for the first time during the reign of Shahjahan that the Hada Chief was made the Chief commander.

On 23rd Zilhijjah, 1039 A.H./24th July, 1630 A.D. Shahjahan recalled Rao Ratan Hada from Basam. He was replaced by Nasiri Khan who had been earlier posted under Raja Gaj Singh against Khan Jahan Lodi.<sup>8</sup> Rao Ratan Hada in compliance of the Imperial orders reached the court at Burhanpur on 4th Safar, 1040 A.H./2nd September, 1630 A.D.<sup>9</sup> On 9th Rabi ul Awwal, 1040 A.H./6th October, 1630 A.D. Rao Ratan Hada was appointed under Asaf Khan who was made

5. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 294; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 332.

6. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 295; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 333.

7. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 298; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 211.

8. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 298.

9. *ibid.*, 315; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 211.

the chief commander of the Imperial forces in the Balaghat.<sup>10</sup>

The recall of the Hada Chief from Basam and his posting in Balaghat was due to the fact that the rebel Khan Jahan was creating disturbances in the Deccan and therefore, the Emperor realised the necessity of having experienced generals in the Deccan. Rao Ratan Hada had served the Imperialist in the Deccan while posted in Balaghat for a long period during the reign of Jahangir and was well aware of the affairs of the Deccan and therefore, Shahjahan decided to utilise the services of the experienced Hada general. It was because of this reason that the Emperor recalled the Hada Chief from Basam and posted him in Balaghat under Asaf Khan. Thus the Emperor made all sorts of arrangements to overcome the rebel Khan Jahan.

As is well known, Khan Jahan moved from pillar to post hotly chased by the Imperial forces and could find respite nowhere. During this pursuit Madho Singh Hada was ever vigilant as he alongwith Sayyid Muzaffar Khan was placed in the vanguard of the army. At river Sindh in the region of Kalinger Khan Jahan was cornered and surrounded by Sayyid Muzaffar Khan and Madho Singh Hada on 1st Rajab, 1040 A.H./24th January, 1631 A.D. where the rebel was forced to give the battle. No doubt Khan Jahan fought like a wild beast at bay but he could not stand the charge of the Rajputs under valiant Madho Singh Hada. The Hada Kunwar fighting with great valour succeeded in overcoming the rebel and he wounded him with his dagger and his followers cut his head and sent it to the court.<sup>11</sup>

The role that Madho Singh Hada played in crushing the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi was important for the Mughal Emperor. It also proved to be of far reaching consequences for him. While the Emperor got rid of the recalcitrant Khan Jahan Lodi, Madho Singh Hada received the promotion in rank. Having fully recognised the services rendered by Madho

10. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i. 319; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 211.

11. *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 350-51; *Munsir ul Umra*, iii, 453; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2595; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 333; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*. i, 109-11.

Singh, the Emperor was pleased to increase his mansab to 2000 zat and 1000 sawar and gave a kettledrum.<sup>12</sup> The Emperor also added some villages to his jagir.<sup>13</sup>

12. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 453-54. Lahori mentions that with the increase of 500 zat and 200 sawar the mansab of Madho Singh Hada was raised to 2000 zat and 1000 sawar vide *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 365. But as he had originally the mansab of 1000 zat and 600 sawar, the mansab after the increase of 500 zat and 200 sawar should come to 1500 zat and 800 sawar on 11th March, 1631 A.D. We find from Lahori that the mansab of Madho Singh Hada was again increased by 500 zat and 500 sawar making it to 2500 zat and 1500 sawar on 16th Jammadi ul Awwal, 1040 A.H./1st December, 1631 A.D. vide *Badshahnama*, i, pt.i, 401. This is also collaborated by the statement given in *Maasir ul Umra*. Therefore, it appears that there is some discrepancy in the statement of Lahori. The increase in the mansab of Madho Singh Hada in March, 1631 A.D. should be 1000 zat and 400 sawar instead of 500 zat and 200 sawar.

Surya Mal Misrn mentions that the mansab of Madho Singh was increased to 3000 zat and 3000 sawar vide *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2595. M.L. Sharma has accepted the statement of Surya Mal Misrn vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 111-12. On examination we find that M.L. Sharma mentions the mansab of Madho Singh Hada as 2500 zat and 2000 sawar at the time of his accession as independent Chief of Kotah in 1631 A.D. vide *op. cit.*, 107 and at another place he mentions that the mansab of Madho Singh was raised to 3000 zat and 3000 sawar after having done valuable services in crushing the rebellion of Khan Jahan in 1631 A.D. The chronology of events as given by Sharma is wrong. Kotah was separated from Bundi after the suppression of rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. As such Madho Singh could not have been granted the mansab of 3000 zat and 3000 sawar after crushing the rebellion of Khan Jahan when he was granted the mansab of 2500 zat and 1500 sawar at the time of separation of Kotah from Bundi.

13. According to Surya Mal Misrn, Madho Singh Hada was granted the parganas of Zerapur, Kherabad, Chechar and Khilichpur—*Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2594. But M.L. Sharma on the basis of Lakshman Dan has given a list of 17 parganas which were granted to Madho Singh. They were Ramgharh, Rehlavan, Kotra, Sultanpur, Badwa, Mangrol, Kherabad, Suket, Chechar, Mandana, Rampur, Nimoda, Sorsan, Palaith, Koaila, Asturn and Sorkhand—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 112.

Rao Ratan Hada continued to serve the Imperialist in Balaghat till his death in the end of 1631 A.D.<sup>14</sup> It is not known how the Hada Chief died but as the struggle was going on in the Deccan it is likely that he must have been killed in some battle there.

As mentioned earlier the period from 1608 to 1631 A.D. during which Rao Ratan Hada was the Chief of Bundi proved to be the most prosperous period for the Hadas. His services during this period brought him honour, fame and position in the Mughal court. In return of his services he received promotion in rank from time to time and during the end of Jahangir's reign he was raised to the mansab of 5000 which he retained even after the accession of Shahjahan. Thus by dint of his meritorious services, Rao Ratan Hada acquired a position among high grandees of the Mughal Empire. Besides serving the Mughal Emperors, Rao Ratan Hada also looked after the interest of his people.

The relations of the Hadas with the Mughals took a new turn after the death of Rao Ratan Hada. So far the region of Hadauti which comprised besides small other parganas, Bundi and Kotah was controlled by a single Chief, though for administrative purpose Kotah was normally assigned to the second son of the Hada Chief. Jahangir was the first Emperor who interfered in the internal affairs of Hadauti and during the revolt of Prince Shahjahan, he removed Hirdya Narayan, the second son of Rao Bhoj from Kotah and assigned to Madho Singh, the second son of Rao Ratan. No doubt the Emperor interfered in the affairs the Hadas but he did not change the convention of keeping the second son of the Hada Chief in Kotah. But Shahjahan went a step further after the death of Rao Ratan and he bifurcated the region of Hadauti into two parts—Bundi and Kotah and thus divided the Hadas into two groups. It may be noted that the Emperor did not take this step of bifurcating the Hada state immediately after his accession. The reason could be that he did not like to

14. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. 401; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 211; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 112; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 105

annoy the nobles of his court because his accession did not take place smoothly. Besides, he did not like to disturb the state as long as Rao Ratan was alive. The bifurcation of the Hada state during the life time of Rao Ratan would mean the imposition of penalty on the Hada Chief and granting Kotah as an independent jagir to his son in his presence would be disgraceful to the Hada Chief who gave no cause of annoyance to the Emperor. Therefore, Shahjahan did not disturb the political set up of Hadauti immediately after his accession till 1631 A.D. when the Hada Chief died.

The historians of Bundi maintain that Kotah was an independent state from the time it was conquered by Jaitra Singh during 1343-46 A.D. But at the same time they also mention that the rulers of this state used to be the younger sons of the Chiefs of Bundi. They further state that after the submission of the Hada Chief to the Mughals in 1569 A.D. the Chief of Bundi had to obtain farman from the Emperor for the appointment of their sons as the rulers of Kotah. Accordingly, Rao Surjan obtained farman from Akbar to place Bhoj in Kotah. Similarly, Rao Bhoj received farman from the Emperor to grant Kotah to his younger son, Hirdya Narayan who was removed by the orders of Emperor Jahangir and Kotah was assigned to Madho Singh at the request of Rao Ratan. However, Rao Ratan could not obtain the formal farman from Jahangir who was pre-occupied in the affairs of the Empire. In anticipation of confirmation from the Emperor, Rao Ratan granted eight parganas to Madho Singh. These were Khejuri, Anandkhera, Kaithun, Asvan, Kanvas, Madhukargarh, Degoad and Rehal which were confirmed by Shahjahan after his accession.<sup>15</sup>

Thus we find that the statement of Surya Mal Misrn and Sharma are faulty. If Kotah was an independent state right from the beginning, why the Chiefs of Bundi would obtain farman from the Emperor on behalf of the ruler of Kotah. Secondly, why the younger sons of the Chiefs of Bundi became the ruler of independent Kotah state. In the case of the

15. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2543; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 83, 97-98, 104.

independent states the sons of the first independent ruler should have succeeded the *gaddi* and not the sons of the Chiefs of any other state of the same clan. In Kotah, the first independent ruler was Jaitra Singh and therefore, his descendants should have succeeded to the *gaddi* of Kotah, but this did not happen and the younger sons of the Chiefs of Bundi held that region which clearly indicates that Kotah was a part of the territory of the Hada Chief of Bundi and he used to assign that region to his second son because the eldest son used to succeed to the *gaddi* of Bundi. These historians also mention that Shahjahan after his accession appointed Madho Singh Hada as an independent ruler of Kotah which contradicts their own statement that Kotah was an independent state right from the beginning.

Lahori mentions that after the death of Rao Ratan, the Emperor separated Kotah from Bundi and assigned it to Madho Singh making him a jagirdar directly under the Emperor in 1631 A.D.<sup>16</sup> The same view has been expressed by Col. Tod.<sup>17</sup>

The history of Kotah before submission of the Hadas to the Mughals as discussed in chapter 1 reveals that Kotah formed a part of the territory of Bundi and was not a separate state. After Mughal Emperor Akbar brought the Hadas under submission the entire Hada territory including Kotah became the part of the Imperial dominion and the Hada Chief received that territory in jagir from the Emperor. The Hada Chief used to assign the region of Kotah to his second son but for that he had to obtain the permission of the Emperor. This practice continued till Kotah was separated from Bundi by Shahjahan.

The reason which led Shahjahan to divide the Hadas into two branches could be that he was well aware of the valour of the Hadas who never retraced their steps from the battlefield. Therefore, he feared that the union of such a clan could prove dangerous if they at any time raised the standard of rebellion. Though the Hadas neither revolted against the

16. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 401.

17. Tod, ii, 409.

Imperialists from the time of their submission upto then nor showed any sign of revolt, but the Emperor could foresee from the trends of revolts during that period that such a conduct on the part of the Hadas could not be altogether ignored. The division of the Hadas definitely would curtail the strength and resources of the Hadas.

However, the more plausible reason seems to be that Shahjahan might have desired to reward Madho Singh who had impressed the Emperor with his behaviour and with the services he rendered against Khan Jahan Lodi. Madho Singh Hada was mainly responsible for surrounding and killing that rebel and the Emperor was pleased with his valiant deeds. Though he increased his mansab but might have felt that the reward granted to Madho Singh for such valuable services was not enough and therefore, to give a suitable and better award to him, Shahjahan separated Kotah from Bundi and assigned Kotah to Madho Singh thereby removing him from the jurisdiction of the Chief of Bundi.

The historians of Rajasthan believe that Kotah became an independent state and Madho Singh Hada was made the first independent ruler of that state with the title of the Rao by Emperor Shahjahan but Lahori does not mention anywhere that Madho Singh Hada was given the title of the Rao or Raja. Later on also none of the contemporary or other Persian chroniclers have used any title with the names of the Chiefs of Kotah. Bhim Singh Hada was the first Chief of Kotah who received the title Maharao in 1713 A.D. It clearly shows that no title was conferred on Madho Singh and his successors, though they continued to receive the state of Kotah in jagir. Uptill the time of Maharao Bhim Singh Hada the Chiefs of Kotah held their jagirs and remained directly under the control of the Emperor. He may, therefore, be regarded as the first independent ruler of Kotah.

Madho Singh Hada was thus the first to hold the jagir of Kotah independently from Bundi. The Emperor at that time increased his mansab by 500 zat and 500 sawar raising it

to 2500 zat and 1500 sawar and granted him Kotah, Palaith and its nearby parganas as his jagir.<sup>18</sup> The territories that formed the part of Kotah state under Madho Singh Hada comprised Baraud in the north, Palaith and Mangrol in the east, Mukandra mountains and Shergarh in the south and Nanta village in the west.<sup>19</sup>

The action of Shahjahan to bifurcate the Hada state had a far reaching consequence. The Hadas who had been serving the Mughals as a single force were divided into two branches known as Hadas of Bundi and Hadas of Kotah and they were to render service for the Mughals under their respective Chiefs. The Chiefs of these two states—Bundi and Kotah—were sometimes appointed in different campaigns and sometimes in the same campaign. The result was that gradually they became competitors among themselves so as to earn honour and position in rank more than the other. Sometimes the competition converted into a tussle between these two branches. During the later period we find that they became hostile to each other and the enmity between the two developed to the extent that each branch tried to snatch the territory of the other with the consent of the Emperor. The period following the death of Aurangzeb witnessed open hostility and enmity between the two Hada Chiefs and they came face to face for the first time during the war of succession that took place after the death of Aurangzeb. Thereafter they were never united and so much so that from that time onwards they remained in opposite camps each championing the cause of different princes for the succession to the throne.

To resume our narration we find that while the Emperor installed Madho Singh Hada on the *gaddi* of Kotah he issued farman on 16th Jammadi ul Awwal, 1040 A.H./1st December, 1631 A.D. recognising Satar Sal as the Chief of Bundi. Rao

18. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 401; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 334; Tod—*op.cit.*, 367. M.L. Sharma mentions that Madho Singh was granted the mansab of 25.0 zat and 2000 sawar at the time of his accession to the *gaddi* of Kotah vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, ii, 107 which is not correct.

19. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 108; Tod, ii, 409.

Satar Sal was the son of Gopinath, the eldest son of Rao Ratan. Shahjahan by his action of recognising Satar Sal as the Chief of Bundi upheld the tradition of the Hadas of retaining Bundi with the elder branch and thus by his arrangements of granting Kotah to Madho Singh and Bundi to Satar Sal he succeeded in achieving his aim without displeasing any party concerned. Rao Satar Sal was granted the mansab of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar with Bundi, Kehtkar and other parganas that were held by Rao Ratan in jagir. He was also ordered to present himself in the Imperial court.<sup>20</sup>

On 23rd Rajab, 1041 A.H./5th February, 1632 A.D. the Emperor appointed Wazir Khan to punish Fetah Khan Habsih and to conquer Daulatabad. Madho Singh Hada was ordered to accompany the said Khan.<sup>21</sup> But before the Imperial army could take any action, Fetah Khan paid the tribute and the army was recalled.

Having received the farman, Rao Satar Sal Hada marched from Bundi and reached the Imperial court at Burhanpur on 8th Saban, 1041 A.H./19th February, 1632 A.D. There he presented to the Emperor forty elephants. The Emperor kept 18 elephants which were valued at two and a half lakhs of rupees and returned the rest to the Hada Chief. Among the eighteen elephants the Emperor liked 8 elephants so much that he ordered to keep them in his personal stable. On that occasion the Emperor honoured the Bundi Chief with a khilat, horse with silver trappings, flag and a kettledrum.<sup>22</sup> He was then posted under Asaf Khan in Balaghat.

20. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 401; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 260; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 334. Tod mentions that Rao Satar Sal was appointed as the Subedar of the Imperial capital which he retained throughout his life vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 387, but neither Lahori nor any other Persian as well as Rajasthani historian mention that the Hada Chief of Bundi was appointed as the Subedar of the Imperial capital and therefore, the statement of Tod can be ignored.

21. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 410.

22. *ibid.*, 414; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 260.

From Balaghat, Rao Satar Sal was ordered to accompany Khan Zaman who was sent to conquer the fort of Daulatabad.<sup>23</sup> When the Imperial forces were marching towards Daulatabad, the Adil Shahi forces alongwith Shahji blocked the path. Therefore, Rao Satar Sal Hada with Khan Zaman had to fight with them and they succeeded in clearing their way after defeating the Adil Shahi forces.<sup>24</sup> The Imperial army then marched to Daulatabad and opened the siege of the fort. Meanwhile Mahabat Khan who was already present in the Deccan, also reached there on 30th Shaban, 1042 A.H./1st March, 1633 A.D. Khan Zaman left Rao Satar Sal Hada in the Imperial camp for its protection and personally moved to fight with the enemy. Here Rao Satar Sal Hada was faced with a difficult situation when Adil Shahi commander, Randola Khan with reinforcement reached near the Imperial camp on 14th Ramzan, 1042 A.H./15th March, 1633 A.D. and attacked the Imperial camp. But Rao Satar Sal Hada was very active and watchful. He made a counter attack on the enemy. In an encounter, the nephew of Bahlol was killed. His death created confusion in the Adil Shahi army and they took to their heels.<sup>25</sup> Thus the great efforts of the Hada Chief of Bundi prevented the Imperial camp from falling into the hands of the enemy.

After a few days, Mahabat Khan sent Mubariz Khan and Rao Dauda to bring supplies from Zafarnagar but hearing that the Deccanis had also marched there to prevent the Imperialist to get the supplies, Mahabat Khan ordered Khan Zaman and Rao Satar Sal Hada to march to Zafarnagar for the help of Mubariz Khan.<sup>26</sup> At Khirki, the battle between the Imperialist and the forces of Shahji and Bahlol took place in which the Imperialist defeated them and succeeded in bringing the supplies.

23. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 499; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 260-61.

24. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 499.

25. *ibid.*, 503; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261..

26. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. i, 505.

On 27th Ramzan, 1042 A.H./28th March, 1633 A.D., the Deccanis again reached the fort. Therefore, Khan Zaman alongwith Rao Satar Sal Hada and Pahar Singh Bundela etc. marched for the help of the besiegers.<sup>27</sup> The Deccanis could not stand against the strong Imperial army that consisted of the brave warriors like the Hadas and they fled away. Thereafter, Khan Khanan decided to plunder the camp of the enemy. Therefore, on 6th Shawwal, 1042 A.H./6th April, 1633 A.D. he sent Khan Zaman alongwith Rao Satar Sal Hada and Rao Karan there. This Imperial force which all along had been very active achieved success in plundering the camp of the enemy.<sup>28</sup>

Mahabat Khan then pressed the siege of the fort with great vigour but the garrison gave stiff resistance. However, the Imperialist achieved partial success but fighting continued. The commandant of the fort Kheriat Khan Bijapuri managed to escape and went to Mahakot. Therefore, Mahabat Khan came to Amarkot and sent a force to siege Mahakot. Rao Satar Sal Hada and Rao Karan were kept on the outposts of Amarkot. Soon Mahabat Khan learnt that Khiloji and Bahlol were marching towards Berar and Talingana to create disturbances there. He, therefore, sent both Rao Satar Sal Hada and Rao Karan to punish them.<sup>29</sup> When the Deccanis found that they were helpless to protect, they finally handed over the fort to Mahabat Khan on 19th Zilhijjah, 1042 A.H./17th June, 1633 A.D.

Thus the Imperialist conquered the fort of Daulatabad. From the operations of the Imperialist in Daulatabad we find that the Chief of Bundi Rao Satar Sal Hada played an important role. Whenever the Imperial army was in a difficult situation Rao Satar Sal Hada was sent to assist them. At every stage he remained active and watchful with the result that Mahabat Khan succeeded in conquering the fort of Daulatabad.

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27. *ibid.*, 508.

28. *ibid.*, 510.

29. *ibid.*, 519.

On 22nd Safar, 1043 A.H./18th August, 1633 A.D. the Emperor at the request of Mahabat Khan sent a large army under Prince Shuja to the Deccan for the conquest of Parenda. This army also consisted of the Hadas under Madho Singh Hada of Kotah.<sup>30</sup> It may be observed that while a Hada force with their Chief Rao Satar Sal Hada was already there in the Deccan, the Emperor despatched an other contingent of the Hadas with their Chief, Madho Singh under Prince Shuja. It appears that the task to conquer the fort of Parenda was difficult. Therefore, the Emperor visualised the necessity of sending the contingents of the valiant Hada Rajputs.

Before marching to Parenda, an army under Khan Zaman was sent in advance to plunder Bijapur. Khan Zaman was assisted by a large number of Rajputs including the Hadas under Rao Satar Sal Hada.<sup>31</sup> Khan Zaman kept all the Rajputs in the vanguard and they laid siege to the fort of Parenda. The Prince himself marched with Mahabat Khan from Burhanpur to Parenda on 26th Rabi ul Sani, 1043 A.H./20th October, 1633 A.D.<sup>32</sup> The Imperialist continued to fight with the enemy for about five months. They had to maintain the supply and therefore, Mahabat Khan himself started alongwith Khan Jahan, Khan Zaman, Rao Satar Sal Hada, Raja Jai Singh etc.<sup>33</sup> Mahabat Khan also kept the Hadas with other Rajputs in the vanguard. On the way the enemy attacked the Imperialist and the Rajputs who were in the vanguard faced the attack courageously and they defeated them.

On 23rd Ramzan, 1043 A.H./4th March, 1634 A.D. the Prince sent a force to plunder the enemy's camp. In this army Raja Jai Singh, Rao Satar Sal Hada, Malluji etc. were sent.<sup>34</sup> But the enemy were vigilant and the attempt of the Imperialist to capture them failed. However, Raja Jai Singh succeeded in defeating the enemy.

30. *ibid.*, 537; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 335.

31. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 35; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261.

32. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 35.

33. *ibid.*, 39.

34. *i. bid.*, 44.

The Imperialist did not achieve any success. On the other hand their losses were very heavy. This disheartened Mahabat Khan. Besides receiving a stiff resistance from the garrison, Mahabat Khan had to face the mutual bickerings of the nobles. The result was that he advised the Prince to raise the siege and return to Burhanpur. Accordingly, the siege was raised on 3rd Zilhijjah, 1043 A.H./10th May, 1634 A.D. On way to their return, the enemy attacked the Imperialist from behind. The Rajputs like Rao Satar Sal Hada, Jugraj, Rao Karan etc. under the command of Khan Zaman proved equal to the occasion and they defeated the enemy.<sup>35</sup> The enemy fled away and the Imperialist reached Burhanpur on 26th Zilhijjah, 1043 A.H./2nd June, 1634 A.D.

Mahabat Khan after his failure in Parenda could not survive long and he died in October, 1634 A.D. After his death the Emperor appointed Khan Zaman as the subedar of Bala-ghat and Khan Dauran as subedar of Painghat and sent orders that Raja Jai Singh, Jugraj and Rao Satar Sal Hada should remain in Daulatabad<sup>36</sup> while Pahar Singh Bundela and Madho Singh Hada in Burhanpur under the service of Khan Dauran.<sup>37</sup>

Thus the two Hada Chiefs were placed under the services of the two different commanders obviously with the view that both the commanders could utilise the services of these brave and valiant Hadas who were well acquainted with the Deccan affairs.

After the death of Mahabat Khan, Shahji decided to recover the fort of Daulatabad. Khan Zaman marched in the company of Madho Singh Hada and Mir Faiz ullah Khan from Malwa to Burhanpur and leaving both these persons there for the protection of that city he himself proceeded to

35. *ibid.*, 46.

36. *ibid.*, 63; *Maasir ul Umra* iii, 261; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 336.

37. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 63; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii 454; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 336.

Daulatabad.<sup>38</sup> Hearing the approach of the Imperialist the enemy fled away. Khan Zaman after having plundered the enemy's camp returned to Ahmednagar.

While the Imperialists were busy in the Deccan, Jujhar Singh Bundela who had returned from there in 1634 A.D. leaving his son Vikarmajeet as his substitute started doing mischievous activities near about his state. He even recalled his son, Vikarmajeet secretly from the Deccan. Accordingly, Vikarmajeet fled from Daulatabad on the pretext of hunting. Though Khan Zaman, the governor of Balaghat did not take any action against him, but Khan Dauran, the governor of Painghat was very vigilant and he alongwith Pahar Singh Bundela, Chandraman and Madho Singh Hada of Kotah etc. pursued the fugitive.<sup>39</sup> He was overcome and defeated at Ashta in Malwa. Vikarmajeet was wounded but he managed to escape and reached Dhamuni where he joined his father.

Hearing the news of the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, the Emperor sent a large army of 2,000 men commanded by three generals to crush the rebellion of the Bundela Chief. One army was commanded by Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang; the second was commanded by Khan Jahan who was assisted by the Rajputs like Amar Singh Rathor, Kishan Singh Bhaidoria, Indra Sal Hada, grandson of Rao Ratan Hada.<sup>40</sup> The third army was led by Khan Dauran who was appointed as subedar of Malwa. He was ordered that he alongwith Madho Singh Hada, Raja Devi Singh Bundela etc. should march to Pecchor via Chanderi and could stay there till the rains were over.<sup>41</sup>

The imperial army in compliance with the orders marched to Orccha after the rains were over. Jujhar Singh Bundela when heard the approach of the army left Orccha and went to

38. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 68; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454.

39. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 96; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 114. Shahnawaz Khan mentions this incident in the 7th year of Shahjahan's reign vide *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454, but it occurred in the 8th year.

40. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 97.

41. *ibid.*, 97.

Dhamuni with treasure. The Imperialist continued to hunt down the rebel who left Dhamuni and reached Charagarh. The Emperor then ordered that Khan Jahan should remain in Bundelkhand to manage the affairs there whereas Abdulla Khan and Khan Dauran should march to Charagarh in pursuit of the rebel. On the arrival of the Imperial army, Jujhar Singh destroyed the guns, demolished the buildings in Charagarh and he fled to Shahpur. The Imperialist under Khan Dauran took the charge of the fort; kept it under the control of Ahdad Khan and hastened to join hands with Abdulla Khan in pursuit of the rebel Bundela Chief. The Imperial commander, Khan Dauran received timely information regarding the movements of Jujhar Singh Bundela who was marching towards the Deccan via Garh Katanga. The Imperialist quickend their march and overtook the rebel near Chanda. Here the vanguard of Abdulla Khan attacked the rebel. The rebel Jujhar Singh and his son, Vikarmajeet fell on Nanak Nam, the commander of the vanguard. Seeing this, Madho Singh Hada who was in the vanguard of Khan Dauran's force himself reached there and killed many Bundelas. The rest of the Bundelas fled away.<sup>42</sup> Jujhar Singh became desperate and decided to kill his women and children but he had hardly succeeded in his plan of killing his women and children when Madho Singh Hada and Sayyid Muhammad reached the place. In the fight that took place the Bundelas lost some of their men. Durg Bhan, son and Durjan Sal, grandson of Jujhar Singh were captured alive but Jujhar Singh and Vikarmajeet escaped in the neighbouring jungle where they were killed by the Gonds.<sup>43</sup> Thus ended the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela. In this also the Hada Chief of Kotah, Madho Singh played an important role. This was the second rebellion in which Madho Singh Hada proved himself to be a great warrior. He always remained vigilant and fell on the enemy like a thunder storm.

After crushing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, Madho Singh Hada returned to the Imperial court at Burhanpur on

42. *ibid.*, 113; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454.

43. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 115; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454; Sharma, M.L.—*op. cit.*, 114-15.

14th Shaban, 1045 A.H./14th January, 1636 A.D. The Emperor in recognition of his services specially against Jujhar Singh Bundela increased his mansab by 500 zat and 100 sawar raising it to 3000 zat and 1600 sawar and also honoured him with a horse with silver trappings.<sup>44</sup>

Rao Satar Sal Hada also came to pay his respects to the Emperor when the latter reached Daulatabad from Burhanpur.<sup>45</sup> Here again the Emperor heard the news about the disturbances created by Shahji who was encouraged with the failure of the Imperialist to get Parenda and the disturbances created by the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela. Therefore, on 20th Ramzan, 1045 A.H./18th February, 1636 A.D. the Emperor ordered Khan Dauran to move to Qandhar and Nandir on the border of Bijapur and Golkunda with a large army and from there to conquer Udgir and Ausa. He was assisted by Raja Jai Singh, Raja Vithaldas, Madho Singh Hada etc.<sup>46</sup> The Imperial commander was instructed to place all the Rajputs in the vanguard of the army. Another army of 20,000 men were sent under Khan Zaman with the orders to conquer Chamargonda, the territory of Shahji and Konkon. This army also consisted of the Hadas under the command of Rao Satar Sal Hada.<sup>47</sup> The vanguard of this army too comprised of the Rajputs including the Hadas.<sup>48</sup> Khan Zaman was ordered to bring Bijapur under submission. Thus we find that the Emperor again employed the entire Hada force under their two Chiefs Madho Singh of Kotah and Rao Satar Sal of Bundi to bring into submission Shahji and Adil Shah.

Adil Shah provided help to Shahji in Udgir and Ausa. Thereupon, the Emperor sent Khan Jahan also and ordered that all the three commanders—Khan Jahan, Khan Dauran and Khan Zaman—should attack on Adil Shah from three directions simultaneously. The Imperialist came into clash with

44. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 134; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 454-55.

45. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 135.

46. *ibid.*, 136; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

47. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 136; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261.

48. *Badshahnama*, i, pt. ii, 137.

Adil Shahi forces and on 18th Shawwal, 1045 A.H./16th March, 1636 A.D. Khan Zaman entered the Adil Shahi territory. At the time Rao Satar Sal Hada was kept in the rear of the army. The reason could be that they might have feared about enemy's attack from behind and therefore, the valiant Hadas were considered most suitable to meet the occasion. On 26th Shawwal, 1045 A.H./24th March, 1636 A.D. when the Imperial army had come down from Daudabai, the enemy attacked Rao Satar Sal Hada. The Hada Chief availed of this opportunity to show his merits and he defeated the enemy after killing a large number of soldiers.<sup>49</sup>

Terrified with the attack of the Imperialist from three sides on his territory, Adil Shah accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor and sent a tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees with Makarmat Khan. He also agreed to help the Imperialist against Shahji if he did not leave the forts of Junar etc.

Thus came an end of an independent rule of the Adil Shahis over Bijapur. In the campaigns that the Imperialist conducted in Daulatabad and Bijapur, whatever success they achieved was mainly due to the contribution of the Hadas. While the Emperor awarded the Hada Chief of Kotah, Madho Singh by raising his mansab from 2500 zat and 1500 sawar in 1631 A.D. to 3000 zat and 1600 sawar in January, 1636 A.D., he then increased the mansab of Rao Satar Sal Hada, the Chief of Bundi from 3000 zat and 2000 sawar to 3000 zat and 3000 sawar on 29th Muharram, 1046 A.H./23rd June, 1636 A.D.<sup>50</sup> Thereafter, the Emperor returned from Daulatabad.

On 16th Jammadi ul Sani, 1046 A.H./5th November, 1636 A.D. the Emperor on his return journey encamped at Kherabad, and the army marched via Palaith which was a part of the jagir of Madho Singh Hada. There Mohan Singh and Jujhar Singh, the sons of Madho Singh Hada came to pay their respects to the Emperor. They presented an elephant to the Emperor in return of which the Emperor gave a khilat and a

49. *ibid.*, 160.

50. *ibid.*, 177; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261.

horse to each.<sup>51</sup> Then on 21st Jammadi ul Sani, 1046 A.H./10th November, 1636 A.D. the Emperor encamped at Mandavour in Baraud pargana which was held by Rao Satar Sal Hada of Bundi in jagir. His Son, Bhaoo Singh Hada came to pay his respect to the Emperor and he also presented an elephant to him. The Emperor gave him a khilat and a horse.<sup>52</sup> The presentations of the sons of the Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah to the Emperor showed the loyalty they had for the Crown.

The Emperor after his return had to send an army under the command of Vithaldas Gaur against Indraman who had usurped the *gaddi* of Dhandara which was assigned to Shiv Ram Gaur. Hari Singh Hada, son of Rao Ratan though was not a mansabdar was sent with this army. Thus we find that here again the Emperor utilised the services of the Hadas. The appointment of Hari Singh Hada in the Imperial army shows that there were persons who were related to the mansabdars and were serving the Emperor without receiving any remuneration in the form of the mansab. It is also possible that he was enrolled as an Ahdis.

The Hada Chief of Bundi who had received promotion in rank after the campaign against Adil Shah then had to march against Shahji who did not agree to enter into the services of Adil Shah and to surrender the forts of Junar etc. to the Imperialist. Khan Zaman formed three divisions of his army. One was led by himself, other by Rao Satar Sal Hada<sup>53</sup> and the third by Prithviraj Rathor. All the three divisions marched against Shahji. Shahji after having moved from place to place was overcome at Maholi. Here Shahji did not dare to face the Imperialists and he surrendered to them.

Madho Singh Hada after the campaign against Adil Shah returned to the Imperial court at Agra on 25th Shawwal, 1046 A.H./13th March, 1637 A.D.<sup>54</sup> At that time the Emperor

51. *Badshahinama*, i, pt. ii, 222; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 337.

52. *Badshahinama*, i, pt. ii, 222-23; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 337.

53. *Badshahinama*, i, pt. ii, 226.

54. *ibid.*

increased his mansab to 3000 zat and 2000 sawar and honoured him with a khilat and a horse with silver trappings.<sup>55</sup>

With the submission of Shahji came to an end of the Imperial campaigns in the Deccan. Through out the campaigns in the Deccan, the services of the Hadas were utilised by the Emperor. They were posted at every strategic positions. They marched with the army either in the vanguard or in the rear wherever the position was dangerous but they came out victorious every time. They proved that they were brave and courageous and could successfully face every eventuality. The postings of the Hadas at such positions also show the great reliance which the Emperor and the Chief commanders had on the Hadas. In return of these services the Emperor honoured them with promotion in rank from time to time and both the Hada Chiefs—Rao Satar Sal and Madho Singh ranked in the category of high mansabdars.

Madho Singh Hada then sought permission of the Emperor to go to his jagir. His brother Hari Singh who was sent to Dhandara had also left for his ancestral home. Both of them returned to the Imperial court at Sahaswan on 4th Shawwal, 1047 A.H./9th February, 1638 A.D. and each presented one elephant to the Emperor.<sup>56</sup> Both Madho Singh Hada and Hari Singh Hada were then called upon to render Imperial service in Qandhar. The Persian governor of Qandhar, Ali Mardan Khan out of fear from the Shah of Persia surrendered the fort to the Imperialist on 21st Shawwal, 1047 A.H./26th February, 1638 A.D. Thereupon the Emperor made certain arrangements to safeguard the fort from the possible attack of the Shah of Persia. He sent a large army under the command of Prince Shuja to Kabul as a precautionary measure. The Hada Chief of Kotah, Madho Singh and his brother, Hari Singh were also ordered to accompany the Prince. At that time Madho Singh was given a khilat, a horse with silver trappings and a drum.<sup>57</sup> Hari Singh also received honour according to

55. *ibid.*, 248, *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 338.

56. *Badshahnama*, ii, 22.

57. *ibid.*, *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

his status.<sup>58</sup> The Prince was instructed to march to Qandhar only if the Shah of Persia attacked it; otherwise Khan Dauran, Raja Jai Singh, Madho Singh Hada, Amar Singh Rathor etc. were to be sent there. The Imperialist came into clash with the Persian army under Siyayush. The vanguard of the Imperial army which mainly consisted of the Rajputs including the Hadas stood like a wall against the enemy and the enemy could not move further. They were defeated by this brave contingent of the Rajputs.

On 19th Shaban, 1050 A.H./24th November 1640 A.D. Madho Singh Hada returned from Kabul.<sup>59</sup> As he had done valuable services in Qandhar, the Emperor increased his mansab to 3000 zat and 2500 sawar on 9th Zilqadah, 1050 A.H./10th February, 1641 A.D.<sup>60</sup> After his return, Indra Sal Hada was sent under the command of Prince Murad on 16th Zilhijjah, 1050 A.H./19th March, 1641 who was sent to Kabul to make arrangements there. It appears that the Emperor had always an idea to keep atleast one Hada contingent at disturbed places as they were great warriors and therefore, after the return of Madho Singh Hada from Kabul, Indra Sal Hada was sent there with Prince Murad.

Next year Rao Satar Sal Hada also returned to the court at Lahore from the Deccan on 20th Zilhijjah, 1051 A.H./12th March, 1642 A.D. He presented two elephants to the Emperor.<sup>61</sup> The Hada Chief of Bundi had hardly remained in the Imperial court for sometime when he was ordered to accompany Prince Dara who was appointed to lead an army in Qandhar against Shah Safi of Persia.<sup>62</sup> Rao Satar Sal Hada was given a khilat and a horse with silver trappings before leaving for Qandhar.<sup>63</sup> But this campaign was abondoned as Shah Safi died.

58. *Badshahnama*, ii, 37.

59. *ibid.*, 217.

60. *ibid.*, 224; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

61. *Badshahnama*, ii, 284; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261.

62. *Badshahnama*, ii, 293; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 339.

63. *Badshahnama*, ii, 294; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 112.

On 12th Jamadi ul Sani, 1052 A.H./29th August, 1642 A.D. the Emperor raised the mansab of Madho Singh Hada to 3000 zat and 3000 sawar.<sup>64</sup> The frequent increase in the mansab of Madho Singh Hada in comparison to his counterpart Rao Satar Sal Hada could be that Madho Singh Hada must be very close to the Emperor. It may also be possible that the Emperor might have appreciated the services of Madho Singh Hada more than that of Rao Satar Sal Hada. After this increase, Madho Singh became equal to his counter-part Rao Satar Sal Hada.

On 8th Shaban, 1052 A.H./23rd October, 1642 A.D. Rao Satar Sal Hada returned from Qandhar to Lahore.<sup>65</sup> He remained in the Imperial court for about a year when he was awarded a special elephant on 24th Rajab, 1053 A.H./28th September, 1643 A.D.<sup>66</sup> On 8th Shaban, 1054 A.H./30th September, 1644 A.D. he was given a khilat and a horse with silver trappings and was permitted to return to Bundi.<sup>67</sup>

Madho Singh Hada who remained in the Imperial court for a long time was ordered to march to Kabul under the command of Raja Jagat Singh sometimes in June, 1645 A.D.<sup>68</sup> This army was to assist Ali Mardan Khan who was appointed to conquer Badakshan. Madho Singh Hada complied with the orders. He also took with him his sons, Mohan Singh and Kishore Singh.<sup>69</sup> The Imperial army could not achieve any success in Badakshan because of the narrow path and they returned.

The Emperor was not disappointed by the failure in

64. *Badshahnama*, ii, 308; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

65. *Badshahnama*, ii, 315.

66. *ibid.*, 342.

67. *ibid.*, 387-88; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 261-62.

68. *Badshahnama*, ii, 424; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455 gives 17th year of the reign of Shahjahan when Madho Singh Hada was sent for the conquest of Badakshan, but actually he was sent in the 18th year of the reign.

69. They held the mansabs of 800 zat and 400 sawar and 400 zat and 200 sawar respectively vide Munshi Mul Chand, 96 as quoted by M. L. Shar<sup>wa</sup>a in *Kotah Rajya Ka Itihas*, i, 131.

Badakshan. The internal disturbances in Central Asia encouraged the Emperor to conquer Balkh and Badakshan. He, therefore, sent a large army under Prince Murad on 30th Zilhijjah, 1055 A.H./7th February, 1646 A.D. Rao Satar Sal Hada who had returned from Bundi state and Madho Singh Hada were ordered to accompany the Prince.<sup>70</sup> Rao Satar Sal Hada took with him his sons Indra Sal and Ajaib Singh.<sup>71</sup> At that time the Emperor gave a special khilat, jewelled dagger and a horse to Rao Satar Sal Hada.<sup>72</sup>

The Prince reached Balkh on 27th Jamadi ul Awwal, 1056 A.H./1st July, 1646 A.D. after conquering the forts of Kohmard, Ghori and Kunduz. They conquered the fort of Balkh the very next day.<sup>73</sup> Nazr Muhammad, the ruler of Balkh fled away from the fort. Therefore, Bahadur Khan and Aslat Khan were ordered to pursue Nazr Muhammad. On 2nd Jammadi ul Sani, 1056 A.H./6th July, 1646 A.D. they came to know that Nazr Muhammad was preparing to fight with the Imperial army in collusion with the Uzbeks. The imperial commanders then also prepared for the battle. They kept some of the Rajputs in the vanguard. Ajaib Singh Hada was placed in the centre under Aslat Khan.<sup>74</sup> Thus at all the important places the Hadas were kept to fight with the forces of Nazr Muhammad. The battle took place at Shergan in which Nazr Muhammad was defeated and he fled away. In this battle Ajaib Singh Hada performed valuable services in return of which he received an increased mansab.

Though Balkh and Badakshan were conquered by the Prince but he did not like to remain there. He returned to Kabul on 22nd Rajab, 1056 A.H./24th August, 1646 A.D. While Rao Satar Sal Hada came back and stayed at Peshawar,<sup>75</sup>

70. *Badshahnama*, ii, 484; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262; iii, 455; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 340.

71. *Badshahnama*, ii, 484-85; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 341.

72. *Badshahnama*, ii, 487.

73. *ibid*, 535.

74. *ibid.*, 550.

75. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262.

Madho Singh Hada was left in Balkh for its protection.<sup>76</sup>

After the return of the Prince, the Uzbeks constantly created troubles for the Mughal forces. Therefore, the Emperor despatched a large army under Prince Aurangzeb with the instructions to send Ali Mardan Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Rao Satar Sal Hada etc. from Peshawar to Balkh.<sup>77</sup>

On 12th Rabi ul Awwal, 1057 A.H./8th April, 1647 A.D. Prince Aurangzeb marched to Balkh.<sup>78</sup> On 21st Rabi ul Awwal, 1057 A.H./17th April, 1647 A.D., the Emperor who was then in Kabul sent a horse with silver trappings to each of the mansabdars who remained in Balkh. They were Madho Singh Hada, Rup Singh Rathor and Raj Singh Rathor.<sup>79</sup> While the Imperial army reached at Gaz, they came into clash with Khalil Beg and Uzbeks. The Prince sent Raja Rai Singh, Rao Satar Sal Hada, Balram Hada, Indra Sal Hada and others in the vanguard against the Uzbeks. On the arrival of these valiant soldiers the Uzbeks fled away. The Hadas alongwith other Rajputs then continued to march in the vanguard of the Prince's army.<sup>80</sup> The Prince entered Balkh on 18th Jamadi ul Awwal, 1057 A.H./27th May, 1647 A.D. and appointed Madho Singh Hada to defend the fort of Balkh.<sup>81</sup> Here, the Uzbeks constantly attacked the fort but Madho Singh Hada was not the person to loose his courage and he beat back the attacks of the Uzbeks.

On 9th Jamadi ul Awwal, 1057 A.H./3rd June, 1647 A.D. Bahadur Khan, and Ali Mardan Khan came into clash with the Uzbeks. The Prince sent Raja Rai Singh, Rao Satar Sal Hada, Murshid Ali Khan etc. to assist the Imperial forces.<sup>82</sup> The Imperialist achieved success against the Uzbeks. The Prince then marched further. He then placed the Rajputs like Rao Satar Sal Hada, Raja Rai Singh etc. in the left wing of the

76. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

77. *Badshahnama*, ii, 633; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262.

78. *Badshahnama*, ii, 640.

79. *ibid.*, 641.

80. *ibid.*, 672-73.

81. *ibid.*, 687; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 455.

82. *Badshahnama*, ii, 687-88.

vanguard.<sup>83</sup> The arrangement made by the Prince proved useful. The enemy under Beg Ogli attacked the left side of the Imperial forces which had the valiant Rajputs. They defeated Beg Ogli. Inspite of their defeat at the hands of the Imperialist, the Uzbeks did not sit silent. They continued their struggle against them. The Imperialist even after their success did not feel comfortable because of the constant attacks of the Uzbeks and of bad weather. Nazr Muhammad also wanted to establish peace in Central Asia and he sued for peace. The result was that the Prince gave him back the territory of Balkh and Badakshan and himself returned from there. He reached Kabul on 22nd Shawwal, 1057 A.H./10th November, 1647 A.D.<sup>84</sup>

The historians of Kotah mention that Madho Singh performed valuable services in the Central Asia and pleased with his services the Emperor gave the parganas of Bara and Mau to him which formed the part of the territory of Rao Satar Sal Hada of Bundi.<sup>85</sup> It appears that Rao Satar Sal Hada did not impress the Emperor with his services in Central Asia, but from the narrations of Lahori we find that Rao Satar Sal Hada always remained vigilant and wherever he was placed, performed good services by defeating the powerful Uzbeks. He did not do anything as to annoy the Emperor. The more probable reason could be that the Emperor might have desired to award the Chief of Kotah as he was always in his good books and therefore, he took away these parganas from the jagir of the Hada Chief of Bundi and gave them to his counter-part Madho Singh Hada of Kotah. By this action the sentiments of the Chief of Bundi might have been injured but as he was loyal to the Emperor he did not show any kind of annoyance. But this definitely had a great impact on the relations between the two houses in future.

Rao Satar Sal Hada and Madho Singh Hada after their return from Central Asia sought permission to go to their respective *watan*—Bundi and Kotah—which was granted by the

83. *ibid.*, 693.

84. *ibid.*; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 456.

85. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2630; *Kotah Rajya Ka Itihas*, 128; *Rajputane Ka Itihas*, ii, 45; *Madhya Kalin Rajasthan ka Itihas*, 123.

Emperor. Madho Singh Hada fall ill on his way to Kotah and died after reaching there in 1648 A.D.<sup>86</sup>

Madho Singh's death was a loss to the Empire. He was an important mansabdar. He started his career as a soldier at the age of 14 years when he accompanied his father in Burhanpur during the reign of Jahangir. Then he actively participated in crushing the revolt of Shahjahan as Prince. It was at that time that Emperor Jahangir recognised his services and gave him Kotah in jagir. Then during the reign of Shahjahan, Madho Singh Hada successfully served the Emperor in various campaigns. Right from the time he was sent against Khan Jahan Lodi upto his last campaign in Central Asia (1647 A.D.) Madho Singh Hada did meritorious services for the Mughal Empire. Many times he had to face the most difficult situations but he successfully overcame all those difficulties and defended the Mughal interests. In return of his services, the Emperor increased his mansab from time to time and at the time of his death he held the mansab of 3000 zat and 3000 sawar.<sup>87</sup> Not

86. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 456; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 126.

The historians have given different dates regarding the death of Madho Singh Hada. According to Surya Mal Misrn he died in S. 1707 or 1650 A.D. vide *Vansh Bhaskar*, iii, 2630-32. Tod gives S. 1687 or 1630 A.D. as the year of his death vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ii, 409. Both these dates are incorrect as Madho Singh Hada died after his return from Central Asia in the end of 1647 A.D. and therefore, he must have died sometimes in 1648 A.D.

87. The historian of Rajasthan are not unanimous about the mansab held by Madho Singh Hada. M.L. Sharma mentions that the Chief of Kotah held the mansab of 4500 zat and 2500 sawar vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 131. Gahlot mentions his mansab as 5000 zat and 2500 sawar vide *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 45. But none of them are correct in their statements. Sharma is confused in mentioning the mansab granted to him from time to time. His chronology of receiving increased mansab by Madho Singh Hada is altogether faulty—see fn. 12. The contemporary Persian chroniclers Lahori, Waris and Kamboo mention the mansab of Madho Singh as 3000 zat and 3000 sawar which was granted to him on 29th August, 1642 A.D. Thereafter there was no increase in his mansab. It appears that the historians of Rajasthan has given some exaggerated figures of the mansab of Madho Singh to show his very high position in the Mughal Empire which was actually not.

only that, the Emperor created him as an independent Chief of Kotah in December 1631 A.D. Besides, he was given the additional parganas in jagir. At the time of his death, the jagir of Madho Singh consisted of Kotah, Sultanpur, Etawah, Luhavad, Mangrol, Ramgarh, Bara, Mau, Shergarh, Ghatoli, Gagraun, Kherabad, Chechar, Mandana, Aaturn and Nanta.<sup>88</sup> Thus Madho Singh could obtain prestige and position in the Mughal court by his meritorious services. He could also extend the area of his jagir.

Madho Singh Hada had five sons—Mukund Singh, Mohan Singh, Jujhar Singh, Kanhi Ram and Kishore Singh. He gave to each of his sons the suitable jagirs. Mukund Singh being the eldest son was the heir apparent to the *gaddi* of Kotah; Mohan Singh got Palaith, Jujhar Singh received Kotra, Kanhi Ram got Koila and Kishore Singh got Sangoda.<sup>89</sup>

Mukund Singh Hada succeeded to the *gaddi* of Kotah in 1648 A.D.<sup>90</sup> On 2nd Rabi ul Sani, 1058 A.H./16th May, 1648 A.D. the Hada Chief of Kotah came to the Mughal court to pay his respect to the Emperor where the Emperor confirmed him in the *watan* jagir held by his father; granted him the mansab of 2000 zat and 1500 sawar and honoured him with a khilat.<sup>91</sup>

On 24th Ramjan, 1058 A.H./2nd October, 1648 A.D. Emperor Shahjahan received information that Shah Abbas II had made all preparations to recover the fort of Qandhar, but Shahjahan on the advice of his consellors did not send reinforcement till 10th Zilhijjah, 1058 A.H./15th December, 1648 A.D. when the Shah of Persia laid siege to the fort. Hearing this

88. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 128-29.

89. *ibid.*, 134; Tod, ii, 409; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, 46.

90. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 62-63. The year of the accession of Mukund Singh Hada to the *gaddi* of Kotah has been given differently by different historians. M. L. Sharma (*op. cit.*, 140) and V. S. Bhargava (*Madhya Kalin Rajasthan ka Itihas*, 124) mention 1649 A.D.) as the year of accession of Mukund Singh to the *gaddi* of Kotah whereas Gahlot mentions that Mukund Singh became the ruler of Kotah in 1650 A.D. But both these dates are wrong as Mukund Singh's father died in 1648 A.D. and therefore, he must have ascended to the *gaddi* in the same year.

91. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 63; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509.

news, the Emperor ordered Prince Aurangzeb to move direct from Multan to Kabul and despatched other mansabdars like Sadullah Khan, Bahadur Khan, Raja Jaswant Singh Rathor etc. Rao Satar Sal Hada who had already been recalled from Bundi, was ordered to join the Prince at Qandhar.<sup>92</sup> At that time the Emperor increased his mansab to 3500 zat and 3500 sawar<sup>93</sup> and honoured him with a khilat and a horse with silver trappings.<sup>94</sup> Mukund Singh Hada was also directed to go to Qandhar. His mansab was also raised to 2000 zat and 2000 sawar.<sup>95</sup> Before the Imperial army reached Qandhar, Ali Mardan Khan the governor of Kabul sent a force to deal with the Persians but this army was not strong enough to prevent the Persians in taking the fort from Khawas Khan, the qiladar of the fort.

The Mughal army reached Qandhar on 14th Jammadi ul Awwal, 1059 A.H./17th May, 1649 A.D. Since the supplies were not easily available, an army under Qulij Khan was sent to bring the supplies. This army was assisted by the valiant Hadas under their Chief Rao Satar Sal.<sup>96</sup> The siege was opened by the Imperial army. But they suffered heavy losses because of the heavy firing from the fort. The Persian foiled every attempt of the Imperialist to conquer the fort and forced them to raise the siege. While the Imperial army was returning the Persians under Murtaza Quli Khan reached there. The Prince appointed Rustam Khan, Qulij Khan etc. to fight with them. They were assisted by the Hadas who under their Chief Rao Satar Sal were placed in the vanguard with Nazr Bahadur.<sup>97</sup> The Hada fought with the Persians with great valour and with their assistance the Imperialist achieved success over the Persians. In recognition of the valuable services rendered by the Hada Chief of Bundi, the Emperor rewarded him with a promotion in rank raising his mansab to 4000 zat and 4000 sawar on 3rd Ramzan, 1059 A.H./31st August, 1649 A.D.<sup>98</sup>

92. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 67; 71; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262.

93. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262.

94. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 71.

95. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509.

96. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 83.

97. *ibid.*, 89.

98. *ibid.*, 100.

The Imperial army on its return from Qandhar reached the court at Lahore on 5th Zilhijjah, 1059 A.H./30th November, 1649 A.D. After the arrival, the Emperor again honoured Rao Satar Sal Hada with a khilat, jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant.<sup>99</sup> Mukund Singh Hada of Kotah also received an increased mansab of 2500 zat and 2000 sawar, a flag and a kettledrum.<sup>100</sup>

The Emperor did not leave the idea to conquer the fort of Qandhar after his failure in 1649 A.D. On 8th Rabi ul Awwal, 1062 A.H./8th February, 1652 A.D., the Emperor wrote to Prince Aurangzab to march from Multan to Qandhar for its conquest. On 16th Rabi ul Awwal, 1062 A.H./16th February, 1652 A.D. he send Sadullah Khan with a large force to Qandhar. He was accompanied among others, Rao Satar Sal Hada and Mukund Singh Hada.<sup>101</sup> At that time Rao Satar Sal Hada was given a khilat and a horse with golden trappings and Mukund Singh Hada with a khilat and a horse with a silver trappings.<sup>102</sup> On the same day the Emperor also moved from Lahore to Kabul. In this army, Rao Satar Sal Hada was appointed to command the vanguard of the right wing of the Imperial army.<sup>103</sup> The siege of the fort was opened on 3rd Jammadi ul Sani, 1062 A.H./2nd May, 1652 A.D. Like the previous occasion the Persians fired from the fort causing death to a large number of Imperial soldiers. Prince Aurangzeb tried to take the fort through corrupt practices but the Persians commander foiled his attempts. Thus the Imperialist again failed in their mission. Ultimately Shahjahan had to abandoned the siege. The Prince with his force returned to Kabul on 16th Ramzan, 1062 A.H./11th August, 1652 A.D.<sup>104</sup>

The two failures in Qandhar did not discourage Shahjahan. He still had hopes to conquer Qandhar. Besides, Prince Dara was also anxious to test his fortune in Qandhar. The Emperor,

99. *ibid.*, 103.

100. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509.

101. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262; iii, 509.

102. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 139.

103. *ibid.*, 138.

104. *ibid.*, 149-52.

therefore, decided to send him for its conquest. The army that was sent under the Prince consisted of all the important mansabdars including Rao Satar Sal Hada<sup>105</sup> and Mukund Singh Hada.<sup>106</sup> Prince Dara reached Qandhar on 7th Jammadi ul Sani, 1063 A.H./25th April, 1653 A.D. and opened the siege of the fort. The Persians again opened fire from the fort. The Mughals, however, succeeding in capturing Bist and Garashk under Rustam Khan, but they failed to capture Zamindawar. He had not only retreated from Zamindawar but also had to evacuate the fort of Bist. The Persians under Autar Khan successfully defended the fort of Qandhar. The siege dragged on for four months but without any success. The Emperor then realised the futility of continuing the siege. He recalled the army which reached the Imperial capital on 15th Safar, 1064 A.H./26th December, 1653 A.D.<sup>107</sup>

Mukund Singh Hada after his return from Qandhar was awarded with an increased mansab of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar on 1st Rabi ul Sani, 1064 A.H./9th February, 1654 A.D.<sup>108</sup> The increase in the mansabs of the Hada Chiefs inspite of the Mughal reverses in Qandhar indicates that the Hada Chiefs must have done services which pleased the Emperor.

Rao Satar Sal Hada who had also returned from Qandhar was posted in the Deccan under Prince Aurangzeb. This time Rao Satar Sal Hada accompanied his son, Bhagwant Singh Hada.

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In 1654 A. D., the Emperor appointed Mukund Singh

105. *ibid.*, 153-58; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 262-63.

106. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509.

107. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 159-77.

108. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509. Kamboo mentions that after the return of Mukund Singh Hada from Qandhar his mansab was raised to 2000 zat and 2000 sawar vide *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 180, but at another place he mentions the mansab held by him at the end of Shahjahan's reign as 3000 zat and 2000 sawar vide p. 442. As there was no increase in his mansab after this increase in February, 1654 A.D., therefore, he must have received the mansab of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar after his return from Qandhar in February, 1654 A.D. as mentioned in *Maasir ul Umra*.

Hada with Sadullah Khan who was sent to Chittor to demolish the repairs made by Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.<sup>109</sup> This army accordingly complied with the orders. It may be observed that the Hadas who were at one time an ally of Mewar went twice with the Imperial army against that state once during the reign of Jahangir and other during this period.

In the Deccan, Rao Satar Sal Hada who was associated with many battles and by then had established his reputation as a great military commander was called upon to assist the Imperialist in the conquest of the fort of Bijapur. Prince Aurangzeb after having conquered the fort of Bidar, ordered Mahabat Khan to march for the conquest of the fort of Kalyani. Mahabat Khan was assisted among others by the Hadas under Rao Satar Sal. On 8th Rajab, 1067 A.H./13th April, 1657 A.D. Khan Muhammad Afzal and Rustam with a large army of 20,000 attacked the Imperialist on their way to Kalyani. Mahabat Khan left Sujan Singh Bundela for the protection of the camp and himself alongwith Rao Satar Sal Hada, Dilir Khan etc. marched against the enemy.<sup>110</sup> Inspite of the fierce attack made by the enemy, the Imperialist succeeded in defeating them.

On 29th Rajab, 1067 A.H./4th May, 1657 A.D., the Imperialist laid siege to the fort of Kalyani under the chief command of Muazzam Khan. The Hadas under Rao Satar Sal Hada who were accompanied by Mahabat Khan fought with great valour. They defeated the enemy and the fort of Kalyani fell to the Mughals.<sup>111</sup> In these conquests the Hadas gave a good account of their valuable services.<sup>112</sup> The Imperialists had yet to achieve victory over the Adil Shahi ruler when the news of the illness of Shahjahan arrived. It disturbed further operations of Bijapur.

Hearing the news of the illness of the Emperor, all the three Princes—Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad started from their

109. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 263.

110. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 250.

111. *ibid.*, 252-60.

112. Aquil Khan—*Waqait-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 10; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 263.

respective provinces to get the throne. When the Emperor heard the news of the evil intentions of his sons and the movement of Prince Shuja from Bengal, he sent an army under Sulaiman Shukoh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh against him. He issued two farmans ordering Prince Aurangzeb to send back Mahabat Khan and Rao Satar Sal Hada with their respective contingents from the Deccan.<sup>113</sup> The reasons for recalling these two generals may be (i) that Prince Aurangzeb under whom they were posted could utilise the services of these experienced generals in fulfilling his evil designs; (ii) that their presence in the court was necessary so that they might be sent against the Princes, if they rose in rebellion. Aurangzeb did not take any heed to these farmans. However, the Hada Chief determined to obey the Imperial orders and managed to return to Bundi inspite of the fact that the Prince put many obstacles in his way. The Hada Chief left the Deccan in such a haste that he could not bring his son, Bhagwant Singh with him. Rao Satar Sal after making necessary arrangements in Bundi reached the Mughal court.

Prince Aurangzeb raised the siege of Gulberga and retreated to Aurangabad. He made alliance with his brother Murad for conducting a joint effort to snatch the throne. Meanwhile the Emperor appointed Qasim Khan as the governor of Gujarat and Prince Murad was ordered to go to the Deccan to take charge of Berar. Raja Jaswant Singh was sent to Malwa as governor. He was instructed to help Qasim Khan in case Prince Murad hesitated to hand over the charge to Qasim Khan and Raja was then to return to Ujjain.

Both the Princes then marched from their respective principalities—Gujarat and Deccan—towards the Imperial capital. Both met at Dipalpur. The Emperor hearing the march of the Princes ordered Raja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan to stop the march of the Princes beyond Ujjain. Raja Jaswant Singh's army of 10,000 troops was divided into two parts. One division consisting of Rajputs of all clans was led by Mukund Singh Hada and six other Hindu Chiefs and the other under

<sup>113.</sup> Aquil Khan—*op. cit.*, 10; Tod, ii, 387.

Qasim Khan.<sup>114</sup> The Commander of the Rajput contingents Mukund Singh Hada was accompanied by all his four brothers—Mohan Singh, Jujhar Singh, Kanhi Ram and Kishore Singh.<sup>115</sup> The battle took place at Dharmat on 2nd Rajab, 1068 A.H./15th April, 1658 A.D.

The Rajputs under Mukund Singh Hada and other Chiefs advanced and attacked Aurangzeb's artillery. "They fell on the enemy like tigers, casting away all plan."<sup>116</sup> In their attack Murshid Quli the Chief of the artillery was slain after a heroic resistance. But the artillery of Aurangzeb was not damaged. Encouraged with this success they attacked Aurangzeb's vanguard. Here sever hand to hand fight took place. The Rajputs got an upper hand in the battle. Sir J. N. Sarkar mentions that "if Rajput charge were not checked, all would be over with Aurangzeb."<sup>117</sup> This attack of the Rajputs was somehow checked by the efforts of Muhammad Sultan, Najabat Khan and other

114. *Alamgirnama*, 65; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 346-47; Sharma, M.L.—*op. cit.*, 163.

115. *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* (Tr.), p. 28. Ishwar Das Nigam author of *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* has mentioned that Rao Satar Sal Hada was also sent under Maharaja Jaswant Singh. But no other contemporary or near contemporary source like *Alamgirnama*, *Waqait-i-Alamgiri* etc. mentions that Rao Satar Sal was sent under the command of Maharaja Jaswant Singh against Aurangzeb. Rao Satar Sal Hada was recalled from the Deccan just before the departure of Aurangzeb from there and it was with great difficulty that he could reach the Imperial court. It is even likely that the Hada Chief of Bundi might have reached the court after the departure of the armies from the Imperial capital. The participation of Rao Satar Sal Hada in this battle as mentioned by Ishwardas Nagar is doubtful.

Ishwardas Nagar has also given a different view of the formation of the army led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor. According to him, Qasim Khan which formed the right wing of the army had generals like Madho Singh Hada and Kishore Singh Hada. The Rajputs like Rao Satar Sal Hada and Mahesh Das Champawat were in the left wing. This description much differs from the description given by other contemporary sources according to which all the Rajputs formed the vanguard of the army under the command of Rao Mukund Singh Hada. Madho Singh had died earlier than this war took place and Rao Satar Sal Hada was not there as discussed above.

116. *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 14.

117. *ibid.*, 15.

commanders of the vanguard. The Rajputs then divided into six groups fighting under their own leader. This weakened the strength of the Rajput contingent. The Hadas under Mukund Singh advanced further dispersing the Prince's army.<sup>118</sup> Fierce fighting went on. At that time the Hadas required reinforcement but as Sir Sarkar mentions, "Jaswant Singh, too, was not the cool and wise commander to keep watch on all the field and send timely support to any hard pressed division,"<sup>119</sup> and, therefore, the Hadas could not receive any reinforcement. On the other side, Prince Aurangzeb provided support to his hard pressed division. The result was that the Rajput contingent exclusively had to fight with the enemy. They were thus fighting under depressed conditions when another calamity fell. Mukund Singh Hada received an arrow through his eye and he fell down dead. He was followed by his brothers who fell one after another. His youngest brother Kishore Singh fell unconscious with wounds. The other six Chiefs also fell dead. With Mukund Singh a band of 500 soldiers laid down their lives in the battle-field which included the Chief of Kotah and his other three brothers.<sup>120</sup> Only one brother Kishore Singh survived with many wounds. He was removed from the battle-field and was provided with proper medical facilities by the order of Aurangzeb.

After this debacle, Maharaja Jaswant Singh fought with his Rathor troops and lost 2000 men but he could not achieve success. He was defeated and had to leave the field.

In the battle at Dharmat the Rajputs were the sufferers. Bardic chronicler records, "The onset cost seventeen hundred Rathors, besides Gehlots, Hadas, Gaurs, and some of every clan of Rajwara."<sup>121</sup> Commenting on the sincerity of the Hadas Tod writes, "...the Rajpoot sealed his faith in his blood; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Bundi.

118. *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 509.

119. *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 17.

120. *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 286-87; *Alamgirnama*, 70; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 17; *Maasir ul Umra*, iii, 510; *Vansh Bhashkar*, 2667; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 167.

121. Tod, ii, 37; *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 26.

The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.”<sup>122</sup>

The news of the defeat of the Imperial forces at Dharmat was conveyed to the Emperor at Delhi. It was a shocking news for him. The victorious rebel Princes were marching towards the capital. The Emperor, therefore, sent Prince Dara with a large army against the rebel Princes. Besides other Rajputs, who were trusted by Prince Dara, Rao Satar Sal Hada who was recalled from the Deccan was also ordered to march in the company of the Prince. He had already performed good services for the Empire. Commenting on the services of the Hada Chief of Bundi, Sir Sarkar writes, “His firmness in battle had passed into a proverb in the entire Mughal army,...”<sup>123</sup> Prince Dara had great reliance on Rao Satar Sal Hada. He openly remarked that “...he would drive Aurangzeb’s men back like hares with the help of Chhatra Sal Hada.”<sup>124</sup> At the time of his departure with the Prince, Rao Satar Sal Hada was given back the pargana of Mau which had been previously taken from him and given to Madho Singh of Kotah and then held by his successor Mukund Singh Hada.<sup>125</sup>

The Imperial army tha tmarched from the capital could not prevent the rebel Princes to cross Chambal. They reached Samugarh where Prince Dara also arrived with his army on 23rd May, 1658 A.D. The army was formed into the battle array. Prince Dara occupied the position in the centre. Rustam Khan led the left wing ; Khililullah Khan was made the commander of the right wing. The vanguard of the army consisted of the Rajputs like the Hadas, Rathors, Sisodias and Gaurs which was led by the Hada Chief of Bundi Rao Satar Sal.<sup>126</sup>

On the other side the army of the rebel Princes consisted

122. Tod, ii, 38.

123. *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 41.

124. *ibid.*, 35.

125. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 172.

126. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 263; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 351.

of 10,000 soldiers. Among the Rajputs fighting from the side of the Princes—Aurangzeb and Murad—were Indradyumna of Dhandhera, Champat Rao Bundela and Bhagwant Singh Hada, son of Rao Satar Sal Hada of Bundi.<sup>127</sup> They were placed at the head of the right wing. It may be observed that while Bhagwant Singh Hada sided the rebel Prince Aurangzeb, his father, Rao Satar Sal Hada was fighting from the side of the Emperor. But it should not be taken to mean that Bhagwant Singh Hada had any difference with his father or with the Emperor. He had to join the rebel Prince because he could not accompany him when he returned to the court as Rao Satar Sal Hada himself left Deccan in adverse circumstances.

The battle took place on 7th Ramzan, 1068 A.H./29th May, 1658 A.D. Prince Dara took the offensive. His left wing under Rustam Khan attacked Aurangzeb's right wing under Bahadur Khan. His attack created confusion in Aurangzeb's army and in that confusion Bahadur Khan was slain after heroic defence. But soon the Aurangzeb's army overpowered the left wing of Dara's army and killed Rustam Khan. Sipihr Shukoh could not save the situation and the army fled away. Thereafter, Aurangzeb had to face a much fierce attack from the Rajputs who under the command of Rao Satar Sal Hada attacked the rebel army. It said about him that "war is as the breath of his nostrils to the Rajput. To war he goes forth dressed as a bridegroom to a marriage. His favourite colour in battle is yellow,—the dye of the Indian Spring carnival."<sup>128</sup> He made an attack on Murad's army and succeeded in separating Murad's army from that of Aurangzeb. Murad though fought with great valour but his army was finding difficulty in facing the Rajput's charge. Aurangzeb's centre had to move to provide aid to Prince Murad. Rao Satar Sal Hada attacked that army and reached upto Murad. He balanced his lance at Murad when a ball hit his fore-head. He fell down dead.<sup>129</sup> Tod describes the commendable work that was done by Rao Satar Sal Hada, which is reproduced below :

127. *Alamgirnama*, 92; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 352.

128. *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 49.

129. *Alamgirnama*, 95-103; *Tod* ii, 389.

"With his Haras clad in their saffron robes, the ensigns of death or victory, formed the vanguard of Dara on this day, the opening scene of his sorrows, which closed but with his life ; for Dholpoor was as fatal to Dara the Mogul, as Arbela was to the Persian Darius. Custom rendered it indispensable that the princely leaders should be conspicuous to the host, and in conformity thereto Dara, mounted on his elephant, was on the brunt of the battle, in the heat of which, when valour and fidelity might have preserved the sceptre of Shah Jehan, Dara suddenly disappeared. A panic ensued, which was followed by confusion and flight. The noble Hara, on this disastrous event, turned to his vassals, and exclaimed, 'Accursed be he who flies ! Here, true to my salt, my feet are rooted to this field, nor will I quit it alive, but victory.' Cheering on his men, he mounted his elephant, but whilst encouraging them by his voice and example, a cannon-shot hitting his elephant, the animal turned and fled. Chutter-sal leaped from his back and called for his steed, exclaiming, 'My elephant may turn his back on the enemy, but never shall his master.' Mounting his horse, and forming his men into a dense mass (*gole*), he led them to the charge against prince Morad, whom he singled out, and had his lance balanced for the issue, when a ball pierced his forehead. The contest was nobly maintained by his youngest son, Bharut Singh, who accompanied his father in death, and with him the choicest of his clan. Mokim Singh, brother of the Rao, with two of his sons, and Oudi Singh, another nephew, sealed their fidelity with their lives."<sup>130</sup>

The death of Rao Satar Sal Hada created confusion in the Imperial army. Dara's two wings—right and left had already been overthrown and now the main had also been thrown into confusion with the death of the great leader. Dara could not maintain his centre. It was Rao Satar Sal Hada who had maintained the ground but after his death there was no one to

130. Tod, ii, 389.

organise the men to fight with the rebel army. When the news of the death of Rao Satar Sal Hada was conveyed to Prince Aurangzeb, he remarked, "Fathebad is this not Dharmat."<sup>131</sup>

The Rajputs then fell one after another. Dara could not reorganise his army. The result was that he was defeated and fled away from the battle-field. A large number of the Hadas including the six royal Princes—Bharat Singh, Mokim Singh, his two sons and Udai Singh laid down their lives in a bid to save the Empire from falling into the hands of the rebel Princes.<sup>132</sup>

In this battle also a large number of the Rajputs sacrificed their lives at the alter of the Emperor's prestige. Sarkar mentions, "Among the commanders who poured forth their life-blood in the service of the throne, nine Rajputs and nineteen Muslims are mentioned by name. Bravest among so many brave men was Rao Chhatra Sal Hada, the chieftain of Bundi and the hero of fifty-two fights."<sup>133</sup>

The Imperialist lost both the battles at Dharmat and Samugarh. In both the battles we find that the Hadas fought with great valour and proved their loyalty for the Emperor. Their leaders—Mukund Singh Hada at Dharmat and Rao Satar Sal Hada at Samugarh—created havoc in the rebel army. The Imperialists could check the rebel forces till the Hada Chiefs were alive. It was only after their death that the Imperial forces were shattered. Had any of the two leaders survived till the end of the battle, the victory could have been achieved by the Imperialists. The battles were lost because of the weakness of the supreme commanders—Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor at Dharmat and Prince Dara at Samugarh. None of them had the experience of warfare and knew hardly the war tactics. They even did not have the capability to watch on all the divisions and to provide assistance to the hard pressed division or to reinforce a division which was becoming effective against the

131. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 171.

132. Tod, ii, 389; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 171.

133. *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 61.

rebels. The Hadas who successfully held the ground and created confusion in the rebel army after reaching in the midst of that army could not receive any reinforcement to back their action. The result was that they alone had to fight with such a large army of the rebel Princes and fell down dead. Their death provided a great relief to Prince Aurangzeb who then fought with more enthusiasm as he then realised that there was no one in the Imperial army who could check their attack and he became successful. Admiring the courage and sincerity of the Hadas, Tod writes, "In the two battles of Oojein and Dholpur no less than twelve princes of blood, together with the heads of every Hara clan, maintained their fealty (*swamdherma*) even to death. Where are we to look for such examples?"<sup>134</sup>

The victory of Aurangzeb at Samugarh cleared his way to acquire the throne. He occupied Agra, controlled the treasury and imprisoned his father. He then declared himself as Emperor.

The bravery of Mukund Singh Hada and Rao Satar Sal Hada alongwith their men might have impressed Aurangzeb but he could not appreciate their resistance in good taste, with the consequence that after his accession the Hadas of both the houses—Bundi and Kotah—fell from the Imperial favours and took quite sometime before they could win the favour of Emperor Aurangzeb.

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134. Tod, ii, 389.

## **Services of the Hadas to Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.)**

The Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah—Rao Satar Sal Hada and Mukund Singh Hada laid down their lives in unsuccessfully defending the throne for Emperor Shahjahan against the rebellious Princes—Aurangzeb and Murad. These two Chiefs were succeeded by their respective sons, Rao Bhao Singh Hada in Bundi and Jagat Singh Hada in Kotah in 1658 A.D. But the Chief of Bundi, Rao Bhao Singh could not find favour of the new Emperor, Aurangzeb who did not like to recognise Rao Bhao Singh Hada as the Chief of Bundi. The reasons for it could be that the Emperor might have thought to punish him for the offences of his father. It may be recalled that on receiving the farman of Emperor Shahjahan, his father, Rao Satar Sal Hada had returned from the Deccan to the court without the permission of Prince Aurangzeb. Subsequently in the battle of Samugarh he was regarded as the only commander on whom Prince Dara had relied. The Hada Chief actually had created havoc for Aurangzeb's army and had he not been killed, it was likely that Aurangzeb might not have gained grounds. Aurangzeb had not forgotten that day. He might

have regarded him as the culprit and therefore, he might have decided to punish the Hadas of Bundi. Secondly, Aurangzeb might not have been sure of the loyalty of Rao Bha Singh Hada. The Hadas like most of the other Rajputs were on the side of Prince Dara and he probably felt that since Prince Dara was still alive there was every possibility that the Hadas and other Rajputs might provide help to that Prince to depose Aurangzeb from the throne. Lastly, Bhagwant Singh Hada, the third son of Rao Satar Sal Hada had remained in the service of Aurangzeb in the Deccan and had served him in his battles against the forces of Emperor Shahjahan. Emperor Aurangzeb, therefore, might have desired to reward him for his services. As a reward, he might have also thought to instal Bhagwant Singh Hada as the Chief of Bundi.

The installation of Bhagwant Singh Hada on the *gaddi* of Bundi would have served two purposes. On the one hand Aurangzeb would be having a Chief of his own making and could ensure no trouble from that quarter. On the other hand Bhagwant Singh Hada would feel obliged for the reward of the Emperor.

The Emperor, however, did not think it prudent to take direct action against Rao Bha Singh Hada because of certain reasons. Firstly, the Emperor was not sure whether the Hadas of Bundi would accept Bhagwant Singh Hada as their Chief. He was a traitor in the eyes of the Hadas as he had fought against his father in the battle of Samugarh. Secondly, the Emperor himself was busy in dealing with his brothers. Under the circumstances it was not possible for the Emperor to send an army to fulfil his desire for ousting Rao Bha Singh Hada from Bundi and installing Bhagwant Singh Hada there. Lastly, even if the Emperor could spare the army, he would have required some pretext to launch a campaign against the Hada Chief of Bundi. He was apprehensive that the Hadas might misunderstand his intentions and might think that the Emperor wanted to dispossess them of their *watan* gradually. They might be even offended at the interference of the Emperor in the succession to the *gaddi* of Bundi. There was the possibi-

lity that on the question of interference in the succession, the Rajputs would rise in revolt against the Emperor. It was because of these considerations the Emperor decided to deal with the situation tactfully.

The Emperor, soon, after his accession, awarded Bhagwant Singh Hada with the grant of a mansab of 2500 zat and 800 sawar on 25th Zilhijjah, 1068 A. H./24th August, 1658 A. D.<sup>1</sup> We do not find in the Persian sources the jagir that was granted to him. The historians of Rajasthan, however, mention that the Emperor took away the parganas of Bara and Mau and installed Bhagwant Singh Hada there as an independent chief of these parganas with the title of the Rao.<sup>2</sup> There is no difficulty in accepting that Bhagwant Singh Hada was granted the jagir of Bara and Mau which only indicated the favour of the Emperor extended to Bhagwant Singh Hada. But it needs investigation whether he was given any title. The Persian chroniclers do not mention that Bhagwant Singh Hada was ever given the title of the Rao. Besides, we find that they have always used the titles with the names of the Rajput chiefs or the other nobles, but with the name of Bhagwant Singh Hada they have not used any title and therefore, we may take that Bhagwant Singh Hada though was granted the mansab and the jagir by the Emperor but was not given any title. It appears that as Bhagwant Singh Hada was granted the jagir of Bara and Mau, the historians of Rajasthan took it that he had been made an independent ruler of that place and was given the title as was usually done by the Emperor. But it was not necessary that every Rajput chief should be granted the title. Even the Chief of Kotah did not have any title.

After having detached the parganas of Bara and Mau from Bundi, the Emperor took up the task to oust Rao Bhaos Singh Hada from the *gaddi* of Bundi, but he did not take any direct action against him. He incited Raja Atma Ram Gaur of Sheopur to reduce Bundi.<sup>3</sup> He also expressed his desire to visit

1. *Alamgirnama*, 192.

2. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 113; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 91.

3. *Tod*, ii., 389.

Bundi in the event of his success there, after his return from the Punjab.<sup>4</sup> Incited by the Emperor, Raja Atma Ram Gaur picked up courage and attacked Bundi with a force of 12,000 soldiers. On his way, the Raja ravaged the country of the Hadas and reached Khatoli where the Hadas had also assembled to meet Raja Atma Ram Gaur. In the battle that ensued, Gaur could not stand before the chivalrous Hadas and the Hadas gave a crashing defeat to the Gaur.<sup>5</sup> The Raja fled from the battle-field leaving the Imperial ensigns and baggage there which were captured by the Hadas.<sup>6</sup> Aurangzeb too must have realised his mistake of taking such a step just at the beginning of his reign.

The battle of Khatoli had a great significance. The Hadas once again proved that they were great fighters and would not fall pray to any such invasion on their territory. They could sacrifice their lives in defence of their kingdom. Besides, they frustrated the attempt of the Emperor to oust Rao Bao Singh Hada from Bundi. The defeat of the Gaurs not only humiliated Raja Atma Ram but also checkmated the plans of Emperor Aurangzeb. When the arms failed to bring down the Hadas of Bundi, the Emperor decided to reconcile them by recognising Rao Bao Singh Hada as the Chief of Bundi. It is also likely that Aurangzeb as Emperor realised his mistake of thinking Rao Satar Sal's action as motivated on grounds of personal enmity, and realised that the Hadas were loyal to the salt and would not spare their blood in support of the throne irrespective of who so ever was sitting thereon. Aurangzeb, therefore decided to utilise the services of the Hadas for his own cause which had by then merged with the throne. He sent a farman to the Hada Chief ordering him to present himself in the court

4. *ibid.* The statement of Tod needs a slight modification. In 1658 A.D. Aurangzeb was busy in pursuit of Prince Dara and was not in the Deccan. Probably the Emperor might have shown his willingness to come to Bundi on his return from the Punjab. Hence if Tod's Deccan is changed into the Punjab, it makes sense.

5. Tod, ii, 389; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 73.

6. Tod, ii, 389.

at Delhi. The Hada Chief in the beginning hesitated to comply with the orders of the Emperor as he suspected the intentions of the Emperor. The Emperor repeatedly assured him of his good intentions and pardon. After ascertaining the position, the Hada Chief of Bundi decided to attend the Imperial court.<sup>7</sup> Jagat Singh Hada of Kotah was also ordered to accompany Rao Bhaos Singh Hada, the Chief of Bundi to the Imperial court.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that while the Emperor had a grudge against the Chief of Bundi, he had no ill will against the Chief of Kotah though the Chiefs of both the states fought against him in 1658 A.D. The only probable reason could be that Rao Satar Sal was a prominent mansabdar known for his bravery and as already discussed earlier, he left the services of Aurangzeb in the Deccan and returned to the Imperial court. He was regarded as the right hand man of Prince Dara who had great reliance on him. Therefore, Emperor Aurangzeb treated his successor as his enemy. There was no such case with the successor of Monkund Singh Hada of Kotah.

The Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah proceeded to the court in Delhi. Meanwhile Aurangzeb marched from Delhi in pursuit of Prince Dara. Both the Chiefs followed the Emperor and they met him near Satluj on 4th Rabi ul Awwal, 1069 A.H./ 19th November, 1658 A.D.<sup>9</sup> The Emperor confirmed Rao Bhaos Singh Hada and Jagat Singh Hada in their ancestral dominions of Bundi and Kotah respectively. The Emperor granted to Rao Bhaos Singh Hada the mansab of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar and honoured him with a khilat, a jewelled dagger, a horse with silver trappings, an elephant, drum and a flag.<sup>10</sup>

7. Tod, ii., 389.

8. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 173; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, (Bundi). 73, (Kotah), 49.

9. *Alamgirnama*, 220-21; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 173.

10. *Alamgirnama*, 231; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305.

Jagat Singh Hada was granted the mansab of 1500 zat and 1000 sawar.<sup>11</sup>

The Emperor after recognising Rao Bha Singh Hada and Jagat Singh Hada as the Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah respectively, first utilised their services against Prince Shuja. He had started from Patna in the end of October, 1658 A.D. and after conquering the forts of Rohtas, Chunar and Banaras reached Allahabad on 23rd December, 1658 A.D. The Emperor when heard the march of Prince Shuja, abandoned the pursuit of Prince Dara and returned to Agra where he organised his army. First of all he sent his son, Muhammad Sultan with a large artillery and army including the Hadas with their Chiefs—Rao Bha Singh and Jagat Singh to assist Khan-Dauran in Allahabad who had already evacuated the fort on the arrival of Prince Shuja. Then the Emperor personally marched against the Prince. The army under him also included the Hadas under Bhagwant Singh Hada. The Emperor reached there on 2nd January, 1659 A.D. and soon arranged his army into battle array in which the contingent of the Hadas under Rao Bha Singh Hada was placed under the chief command of Sultan Muhammad and Zulfiqar Khan in the vanguard. The right wing of the army was commanded by Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor who was assisted by the Hadas under Kunwar Kishore Singh. Bhagwant Singh Hada was placed under Muhammad Amin Khan in the left wing of the army. Prince Azam who was with the Emperor in the centre was assisted by Jagat Singh Hada.<sup>12</sup> Thus all the commanders were provided with the services of the valiant Hadas.

A night before the actual battle Maharaja Jaswant Singh plundered and deserted the Imperial camp. A large number

11. The mansab of Jagat Singh Hada granted in the beginning has not been mentioned in *Alamgirnama* but according to it the mansab of Jagat Singh was increased by 500 sawar raising it to 1500 zat and 1500 sawar in 1668 A.D. (p.1034). Therefore, it can be calculated that the Chief of Kotah must have been granted the mansab of 1500 zat and 1000 sawar in the beginning. The statements of Shahnawaz Khan, Surya Mal Misrn and Tod that he was granted the mansab of 2000 in the beginning is not correct.

12. *Alamgirnama*, 245-49; *Vanshi Bhashkar*, iii, 2770.

of soldiers left with Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor but the Hadas did not change their side and they stood loyal to the Emperor. The Emperor did not take any action against the Maharaja immediately as he was determined to reduce Prince Shuja first.

The Hadas of Bundi and Kotah with their respective Chiefs, Rao Bhaosinh Hada, Jagat Singh Hada and Kunwar Kishore Singh were posted in the vanguard of the army, whereas Bhagwant Singh Hada remained in the left wing of the army. Rao Bhaosinh Hada was made incharge of the artillery.<sup>13</sup> The battle took place on 5th January, 1659 A.D. The vanguard of the Imperial army that consisted of the Hadas made a spirited attack on Prince Shuja's army. The Prince fought with great valour but the superior strength and the presence of the loyal Hadas on the side of the Emperor did not allow the Prince to gain any ground. Ultimately he was defeated and had to flee from the battle-field. In this battle Kunwar Bhagwant Singh Hada was wounded.

After the victory over Prince Shuja, Rao Bhaosinh Hada was awarded a khilat, horse, jewelled sword and an increase in his mansab to 4000 zat and 2500 sawar.<sup>14</sup> The awards and the promotion in rank of Rao Bhaosinh Hada clearly show that he as a commander of the Imperial army, must have rendered valuable services and must have fought with great valour. The Hada Chief of Bundi was then placed under Prince Sultan Muhammad who was sent in pursuit of Prince Shuja.<sup>15</sup>

The Emperor was also pleased with the services of Bhagwant Singh Hada and rewarded him with a khilat and an increase in his mansab to 2500 zat and 1000 sawar.<sup>16</sup>

13. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305; *Vansh Bhashkar* iii, 2770.

14. *Alamgirnama*, 267.

15. *ibid.*, 267-69; Aquil Khan—*Waqait-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 47-48; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305.

16. *Alamgirnama*, 289.

The pursuit of the Princes—Shuja and Dara—was continued. While Rao Bha Singh Hada was sent in pursuit of Prince Shuja, the Emperor utilised the services of the other Hadas against Prince Dara who was invited by Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor in Ajmer. The Emperor despatched a large army against him which included the Hadas under Jagat Singh Hada and Bhagwant Singh Hada.<sup>17</sup> Thus we find that both the Imperial armies sent against Prince Shuja and Prince Dara had been provided with the services of the valiant Hadas.

The battle with Prince Dara took place near Ajmer. In this battle Bhagwant Singh Hada fought very courageously and the Imperial army succeeded in defeating the Prince. However, the Prince escaped during the night.

Jagat Singh Hada and Bhagwant Singh Hada then took leave from the Emperor and went to their respective states. The two Hada Chiefs returned to the Imperial court in September, 1659 A.D. and January, 1660 A.D. respectively. After return Jagat Singh Hada was given a khilat and a dagger.<sup>18</sup> Bhagwant Singh Hada was also given a banner.<sup>19</sup>

In 1660 A.D. Chakra Sen, the Bhil Zamindar of Ghatakheri rose in revolt against the Imperial authority. The Emperor appointed Bhagwant Singh Hada whose jagir was near his state to crush the rebellion. On this occasion the Hada Chief was given a khilat and a horse and his mansab was raised to 2500 zat and 1500 sawar.<sup>20</sup> Bhagwant Singh Hada accordingly marched against the rebel.

In the army that was pursuit of Prince Shuja, Rao Bha Singh Hada marched in the company of Sultan Muhammad which formed the right wing of the army. The Hada Chief of Bundi, however, could not assist the Prince for long. When the army had reached the zamindari of Birbhum, an alarming news reached them that Prince Dara had defeated Aurangzeb

17. *ibid.*, 306-308.

18. *ibid.*, 403.

19. *ibid.*, 466.

20. *ibid.*, 474-75.

and he had retired to the Deccan. Hearing this news the Rajputs deserted the Prince. Rao Bhaos Singh Hada too returned to his native state.<sup>21</sup> However, the pursuit of the Prince continued.

The Emperor did not attach any importance to this incident. He even did not punish any mansabdar for their misbehaviour. But soon all those mansabdars who deserted the Prince in Bengal realised their fault and submitted for pardon which was granted by the Emperor. Rao Bhaos Singh Hada also received pardon of the Emperor. Thereafter, the Emperor appointed him in Aurangabad in the service of Prince Muazzam.<sup>22</sup> Later on, in early 1660 A.D. the Prince was recalled and Shaista Khan was appointed in his place to deal with Shivaji who was creating troubles in the Deccan.<sup>23</sup> Rao Bhaos Singh Hada who was already there in the Deccan was directed to assist Shaista Khan in his campaigns against the Maratha Chief.<sup>24</sup>

Shaista Khan soon started his operations against Shivaji. He left Ahmadnagar with a large army on 25th February, 1660 A.D. and marched towards eastern side of Poona. The Marathas did not give battle but retreated. The Imperial army marched by way of Sonwadi and Supa. When the Mughal army was marching from Shivapur to Garara, 3000 strong force of the Marathas threatened the rearguard of the Mughals on 30th April, 1660 A.D. which was led by Rao Bhaos Singh Hada. But he was equally strong. He made a counter charge on them and after a long fight he succeeded in routing the Marathas.<sup>25</sup>

The Mughal army faced another attack of the Marathas when they raided the villages near the fort of Purandar. In

21. *ibid.*, 497; Aquil Khan—*op. cit.*, 49; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305.

22. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305; Tod, ii., 389.

23. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 119; *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 41; *Shivaji and his Times*, 86.

24. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305.

25. *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 43-44.

this battle the Mughals came out victorious and they entered Poona on 9th May, 1660 A.D.<sup>26</sup> The Marathas, however, succeeded in destroying foodgrains and fodder near Poona and Chakan. The Imperial army then marched to Chakan which was near Ahmadnagar from where they could easily get the supplies. The fort was besieged by the Imperialists. They pressed the siege vigorously and succeeded in making a breach in the fort, but the Marathas were not so weak as to surrender the fort so easily. They too defended it with full courage and determination. The garrison inflicted heavy casualties on the Imperial army. The Mughals were thus in an adverse situation. It was at that critical time that the Chief of Bundi, Rao Bha Singh Hada came to the rescue of the Mughals. He opened negotiations with the Marathas and persuaded them to agree to surrender the fort under certain conditions.<sup>27</sup>

The Mughal campaign against Shivaji under the Chief command of Shaista Khan thus turned successful in which Rao Bha Singh Hada played an important role. He being the commander of the rear guard of the army proved very effective against the Marathas when he beat back their attack and saved the Imperialists from any possible catastrophe. Besides being a military commander, he also proved to be a great diplomat. The battle at Chakan reveals that the Mughals would have either lost the battle or would have suffered much more casualties in capturing the fort had not Rao Bha Singh Hada been appointed in the Deccan.

In the north Bhagwant Singh Hada who had been sent to crush the rebellion of Chakra Sen succeeded in achieving victory over him. He conquered his strong-holds in May, 1661 A.D. However, Chakra Sen managed to escape. The news of this victory was communicated to the Emperor who was pleased with the services of Bhagwant Singh Hada and honoured him with a khilat.<sup>28</sup>

26. *Ibid.*, 44; *Shivaji and his Times*, 91-92.

27. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 30.

28. *Alamgirnama*, 615-16.

In the Deccan Shaista Khan was replaced by Prince Muazzam who reached there in January, 1664 A.D. Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor, the favourite general of the Prince, was also posted in Poona. Rao Bhaosinh Hada continued to hold his post of faujdar in Aurangabad under the control of Prince Muazzam. While retaining the faujdari of Aurangabad as his substancial post, Rao Bhaosinh Hada continued to render military service in the Imperial forces posted in the Deccan against the Marathas.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor soon after started from Poona and besieged Kondana. He was assisted by the able and experienced general Rao Bhaosinh Hada. The siege continued for some months but without any success. Ultimately the Maharaja had to raise the siege after loosing hundreds of his soldiers. Thereafter he quarrelled with his brother-in-law Rao Bhaosinh Hada.<sup>29</sup> The campaign thus ended in the failure and both the officers returned with their armies to Aurangabad.<sup>30</sup>

In Kondana the campaign failed because Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor and Rao Bhaosinh Hada could not pull on together and thereafter they quarrelled between themselves. Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor was on doubt a high mansabdar but he was not a good commander. He did not achieve any success any where. On the other hand, Rao Bhaosinh Hada was an experienced general and a great diplomat. The Maharaja being a favourite of the Prince always considered himself as a commander of outstanding ability and therefore could not have accepted any advice of Rao Bhaosinh Hada. After the failure of the campaign, Maharaja Jaswant Singh might have put the blame of the failure on Rao Bhaosinh Hada to save his position which the Hada Chief could not have tolerated. He had been proving successful and earned prestige in the battles in the Deccan. This led to the quarrel between the two Chiefs. Sir J. N. Sarkar also believes

29. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr, 66; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 306; *History of Aurangzib*, iv, 58-59.

30. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr, 39; *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 59.

that the Maharaja quarrelled "evidently on the question of responsibility for failures."<sup>31</sup>

The repeated failures of forces in the Deccan convinced the Emperor of the worthlessness of his commanders. He, therefore, recalled Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor who had not only failed in Kondana recently but also quarrelled with Rao Bhaosinh Hada. He appointed Mirza Raja Jai Singh, a seasoned commander and a shrewd diplomat in place of Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor. He was accompanied by the ablest generals like Dilir Khan, Daud Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Qubad Khan, Raja Sujan Singh Bundela etc. Jagat Singh Hada of Kotah was also ordered to accompany the Raja.<sup>32</sup> Rao Bhaosinh Hada was already there to assist the Imperial commander in his operations against the Marathas.<sup>33</sup>

It may be observed that while the Emperor had been making frequent changes in the appointment of the commanders and other generals for the campaigns in the Deccan, he continued to keep Rao Bhaosinh Hada in Aurangabad and he was to help the commanders sent there from time to time. The reason could be that inspite of the Mughal failures, Rao Bhaosinh Hada had proved himself to be loyal as well as useful. Besides, he was well acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan and therefore the presence of such a general was expected to be helpful to the commanders who were posted there from time to time.

Mirza Raja Jai Singh reached Poona on 3rd March, 1665 A.D. and took over charge from Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor. He then marched with his army which consisted of the Hadas of Bundi and Kotah under their respective Chiefs—Rao Bhaosinh Hada and Jagat Singh Hada to Purandar towards the end of the month and besieged it. The Raja pressed on the siege vigorously. Shivaji had no alternative but to come

31. *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 59.

32. *Alamgirnama*, 891.

33. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 306; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 74.

to terms with this shrewd commander. It was on 12th June, 1665 A.D. that the treaty was drawn up according to which the Marathas had to surrender 23 forts including the fort of Purandar to the Mughals.

After dealing with Shivaji, Mirza Raja Jai Singh decided to march against Bijapur on 20th October, 1665 A.D. In this campaign he utilised the services of Jagat Singh Hada of Kotah who was placed under Dilir Khan in the vanguard of the army. The army marched in November, 1665 A.D. The Imperial vanguard consisting of the the Hadas attacked the enemy. In the battle the Hadas under Jagat Singh Hada fought with great valour and succeeded in killing a large number of enemy and captured about 1300 men.<sup>34</sup> The Raja with the help of the Hadas succeeded in winning the battle but could not conquer Bijapur.

In November, 1666 A.D Dilir Khan invaded Chanda. In this invasion the Khan was accompanied by Rao Bhao Singh, Hada<sup>35</sup> and Jagat Singh Hada.<sup>36</sup> This army succeeded in subduing the zamindar of Chanda.

Rao Bhao Singh Hada not only remained loyal to the Mughal Emperor but also remained ready to save his other Rajput Chiefs from any catastrophe. In 1667 A.D. after the recall and death of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Rao Karan of Bikaner learnt that his son Anup Singh who was his agent in the Imperial court, influenced the Emperor to grant Bikaner to him. This was a shocking news to Rao Karan who became suspicious. He started neglecting his duties. He even disobeyed the orders of Dilir Khan under whom he was posted. Dilir Khan sent a complaint about his behaviour to the Emperor who ordered him to arrest Rao Karan. The court agent of Rao Bhao Singh communicated this news to him (Rao

34. *Alamgirnama*, 988-1018.

35. *ibid.*, 1022-23; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii. 205; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 306.

36. *Alamgirnama*, 1022-23.

Bhao Singh). Rao Bhao Singh Hada decided to save Rao Karan from falling into the hands of Dilir Khan. As soon as Dilir Khan received the orders of the Emperor, he came to the camp of Rao Karan on the pretext of hunting. Rao Bhao Singh Hada who had been watching the movements of Dilir Khan, when heard that Dilir Khan was marching towards Rao Karan's camp he too reached there with a handful of Rajput soldiers and carried off Rao Karan to safety from the midst of Dilir Khan's soldiers. Both the Raos reached Aurangabad and remained there under the shelter of Prince Muazzam who at that time was the viceroy of the Deccan and had differences with Dilir Khan. Dilir Khan was ordered to go to Bidar to punish the enemy and the two Raos took respite under the protection of the Prince at Aurangabad.<sup>37</sup>

Jagat Singh Hada who had returned from the Deccan and was in his native place in Kotah, had to face a difficult situation. In 1678 A.D. the Emperor sent an army to suppress the rebellion of the Rathors. This army was to pass through Bundi and Kotah and was ordered to demolish the temples on its way. The Hadas of Kotah were alarmed as they feared that the temple of Govardhan which lay in Kotah would also be destroyed. They, therefore, appealed to their Chief to save somehow the temple from possible demolition. The Chief of Kotah did not like to stand against the Imperials orders. However, he asked the priest to leave the temple and take shelter in Raipur. The idol of Srinath was to be kept in Borawa till the army crossed the Hada dominion.<sup>38</sup>

It may be observed that Jagat Singh Hada did not oppose the Emperor against his orders of demolition of temples. He rather saved the temple in a cowardice way. Instead of standing against the Imperial army in the event of demolition of the temple he asked the Hadas to hide the idol to save it from pollution.

37. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr. 55-56; *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 95-96; Tod, ii., 389.

38. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 181.

Jagat Singh Hada after remaining in the north for some-time was ordered to accompany Khan Jahan in the Deccan<sup>39</sup> who was appointed as viceroy in place of Prince Muazzam.<sup>40</sup> Rao Bha Singh Hada, however continued to hold his position in Aurangabad and now he was called upon to assist the new viceroy. Thus we find that for the second time both the Hada Chiefs with their respective contingents were posted in the Deccan.

Rao Bha Singh after rendering services in the Deccan for about eighteen years died there in 1678 A.D.<sup>41</sup> The Hada Chief of Bundi whom the Emperor wanted to punish in the beginning ultimately proved an asset to the Emperor in his campaigns in the Deccan so long he lived. He proved to be a gallant leader and a shrewd diplomat. His services in the Deccan are the proof of his abilities and that is why the Emperor all the time kept him there. If the campaigns failed in the Deccan they were due to the weaknesses of the commanders. The Hada Chief of Bundi gave full support and fought with great courage and determination. He, at times, saved the Mughals from troubles. He thus remained loyal to the Emperor throughout his life and served him with sincerity and devotion. The services of Rao Bha Singh Hada raised him to a position among the high grandee of the Empire and he reached the mansab of 4000 zat and 2500 sawar at the close of his career.

During his entire period of Chiefship, Rao Bha Singh Hada did not act in any manner contrary to the wishes of the Emperor, except of one occasion when he saved Rao Karan of Bikaner from falling into the hands of Dilir Khan. That too he could do only because he enjoyed the favour of Prince

39. *ibid.*, 184.

40. *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 243.

41. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, 129; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 306. Kaviraj Shyamal Das (*Vir Vinod*, ii, 114) and Tod (ii, 390) have given 1681 A.D. as the year of the death of Rao Bha Singh Hada, but as Bhim Sen is a contemporary historian the date given by him has been accepted as correct.

Muazzam. He always acted on the advice of the Emperor even in the internal matters. This is clear from the case of Kishan Singh Hada. Rao Bha Singh Hada had no son and therefore, he adopted Kishan Singh, the son of his younger brother Bhim Singh.<sup>42</sup> The Emperor was annoyed with the Kunwar as he had opposed the Imperial army when it came to demolish the Kesav Rai temple, and had succeeded in protecting temple from demolition. Aurangzeb did not want to have a Chief over Bundi who was opposed to his policies. He, therefore, ordered the Hada Chief to disown Kishan Singh. Rao Bha Singh Hada obeyed the orders of the Emperor. Kunwar Kishan Singh was later murdered in Ujjain by the orders of Prince Akbar in 1677 A.D.<sup>43</sup>

Rao Bha Singh Hada adopted Anurudh Singh, son of Kishan Singh Hada.<sup>44</sup> Who ascended the *gaddi* of Bundi after

42. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 113; *Tod*, ii, 389. Shahnawaz Khan mentions that Kishan Singh was the son of Bhagwant Singh Hada vide *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305, but he is not correct.

43. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 113; *Tod*, ii, 389, fn. The Persian historians mention that Kishan Singh committed suicide—*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 99; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305. According to them the Prince called Kishan Singh Hada and honoured him with a robe of honour. When he was putting on the robe of honour, there was some hot exchanges between the two and Kishan Singh Hada then stabbed himself in stomach. This account seems to be misleading. The historians do not mention on what account the Prince called the Hada Kunwar. The Persian historians seem to have distorted the facts. They as usual put the entire blame on Kishan Singh calling him as insane. The other contemporary historian, Bhim Sen only mentions that Prince Akbar called Kishan Singh and “awarded him a robe of honour and all the necessary articles that generally go along with it” vide *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 129. He has not mentioned how the Hada Kunwar died. But what appears is that Kishan Singh Hada was a fanatic Hindu and therefore he had been obstructing the Imperial forces in demolition of temples. The Prince called to warn him for his misbehaviour. On this there took place some altercation between the two and the Prince out of anger contrived to get him murdered.

44. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 129; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 305; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 113; *Tod*, ii, 389.

the death of Rao Bha Singh at the age of fifteen years.<sup>45</sup> The Emperor confirmed his accession and granted him the mansab of 3500 zat and 3000 sawar.<sup>46</sup> He also honoured the Hada Chief with a khilat and gave him an elephant.<sup>47</sup>

The period from 1681 A.D. was the beginning of the second phase of Aurangzeb's reign during which he concentrated his energies in the conquest of Deccan and bringing the Marathas to their knees. He had already reached there to supervise the campaigns in the Deccan. Soon after his accession Rao Anurudh Singh Hada was also appointed there in place of his predecessor. Jagat Singh Hada of Kotah was already there. Thus besides others, the Hadas were also called upon to fight against the Marathas. In the early 1682 A.D. the Emperor started the vigorous offensive against the Marathas. He sent the force in all the directions to put pressure on them to surrender to the Emperor. One such force was sent to Bijapur under Prince Azam to prevent the aid that was coming to the Marathas from there. The Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah were sent to assist the Prince. While the Marathas were hunted to Qutabshahi territory by Khan Jahan, the Prince conducted the campaign in Bijapur. The Prince left his camp under the charge of the Hadas and himself moved to Bijapur. The absence of the Prince gave opportunity to the Marathas to attack the Mughal camp. At this critical juncture when the main Mughal force was busy elsewhere, Jahanzib Banu, the wife of the Prince appealed to the Hada Chief to save the honour of the ladies and the Mughal camp as "the honour of the Chagtais is one with the honour of the Rajput."<sup>48</sup> The Hadas who were loyal and watchful immediately gave fight to the marathas. While Jagat Singh Hada who by then held the

45. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 114; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 75.

46. *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 229.

47. *Tod*, ii, 389.

48. *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 302.

mansab of 2000<sup>49</sup> fought with the Marathas and crippled their wings,<sup>50</sup> Rao Anurudh Singh Hada saved the ladies of the harem from falling into the hands of the Marathas. The quick operations of the Hadas succeeded in repulsing the Marathas after loosing 900 Hada soldiers.<sup>51</sup> It was in this battle that Jagat Singh Hada lost his life in defence of the Mughal camp.<sup>52</sup>

The Emperor when learnt the heroic deeds of the Hadas, awarded the Hada Chief of Bundi, Rao Anurudh Singh a khilat and asked him to name any other award. The Hada Chief requested him to allow him to command the vanguard of the army instead of rear guard. The Emperor granted his request.<sup>53</sup> From the request of the Hada Chief it appears that the Hada Chiefs considered it their honour to remain in the vanguard of the army.

Jagat Singh Hada left no son. Therefore, a group of nobles of Kotah installed Prem Singh of Koila, son of Kanhi Ram, the fourth son of Madho Singh Hada. The Emperor who was busy in the Deccan could not attend to the affairs of Kotah and even did not send the customary *tiak* to Prem Singh Hada to confirm his accession to the *gaddi* of Kotah.<sup>54</sup> The Hada Chief himself was incapable and could not manage

49. The year in which Jagat Singh Hada was granted the mansab of 2000 is not known. Bhim Sen mentions this mansab in the 23rd year of Aurangzeb's reign (1680-81 A.D.) vide *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr.; 134. It means that the Hada Chief of Kotah received the mansab before 1680-81 A.D. Arthur Ali mentions the mansab of 2000 zat and 1500 sawar.—500 sawar do aspa sih aspa during the period from 1678 to 1707 A.D. vide *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 245. Since Bhim Sen was a contemporary historian we must accept his information as correct. The Hada Chief of Kotah would have received the mansab of 2000 zat and 2000-500 sawar do aspa sih aspa during the period 1678 A.D. onwards.

50. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 184.

51. "Aurangzeb"-Cambridge History of India, iv, 282.

52. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 140; *Kotah Rajya Ka Itihas*, i, 184.

53. Tod, ii, 389.

54. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2880.

the affairs of the state. The nobles who installed him on the *gaddi* of Kotah took undue advantage of the situation. They stopped paying the revenue to the treasury, the result of which was that the state became financially weak. This state of affairs continued for about a year when other group of nobles rose to the occasion and deposed him from the *gaddi* of Kotah and sent him back to Koila.<sup>55</sup>

After deposing Prem Singh, Kishore Singh Hada became the Chief of Kotah.<sup>56</sup> He was the youngest son of Madho Singh, the first independent Chief of Kotah. Kishore Singh Hada had been in the Mughal service since the reign of Shahjahan. He held the mansab of 600 zat and 200 sawar during the third decade of Shahjahan's reign.<sup>57</sup> In 1643 A.D. he was sent in the campaign against Balkh and Badakshan alongwith his father. Later on he was in the campaigns in Qandhar with his brother Mukund Singh Hada. He was then appointed in the army that was sent to deal with Aurangzeb and he fought with great valour. While all his brothers fell dead in the battle-field at Dharmat, he survived with forty wounds. He was removed from there and his wounds were nursed.<sup>58</sup> In the beginning of Aurangzeb he was sent against Prince Shuja when his wounds had not fully healed. There also he showed great bravery.<sup>59</sup>

55. Tod, ii, 410; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 197.

56. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr, 140; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 323.

57. *Badshahnama*, ii, 215; *Amil-i-Salih*, iii, 480.

58. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 198. Sharma has narrated a story as to how the wounds of Kishore Singh were nursed. The story goes like this :

Kishore Singh was severely wounded in the battle of Dharmat. He was brought into the camp in unconscious state. There was no hope of his survival. At that time some physician advised that if a women remained in his company he might recover from her touches. A Rajput agreed to give his young daughter on the condition that after his recovery Kishore Singh would marry her. With her association he recovered from the wounds but some hinderance could not allow her to become his wife. However, she lived with him.

59. *Alamgirnama*, 246.

In 1680 A.D. Khan Jahan proceeded to the Deccan in place of Shah Alam. Kishore Singh alongwith Jagat Singh were also directed to accompany him. Kishore Singh continued to serve the Mughals there till the death of Jagat Singh. At that time Kishore Singh Hada had the mansab of 1000 zat and 1000 sawar.<sup>60</sup> Since the Emperor was busy in the Deccan he could not attend the affairs of Kotah in regard to the succession to the *gaddi* of Kotah. It was only after about a year when Prem Singh was deposed and the nobles of Kotah raised Kishore Singh Hada as the Chief, the Emperor granted him mansab of 2500 zat and 3000 sawar.<sup>61</sup> He was confirmed in his ancestral jagir of Kotah and was granted a khilat. The Emperor sent him to Kotah for formal coronation ceremony.

The first task of Kishore Singh Hada was to set his house in order. The misrule of Prem Singh Hada had created confusion in Kotah. The pargana of Bara was taken by Uttam Ram Gaur. The zamindars of Mau, Baraud etc. started plundering the territories. The Chief of Kotah, therefore, sent a force under his son Ram Singh to take back the pargana of Bara. Ram Singh achieved success in getting the lost pargana after defeating Uttam Ram Gaur. Similarly, he re-established his control over the parganas of Mau and Baraud.<sup>62</sup>

Since the Emperor had been vigorously pursuing the campaigns in the Deccan, he brought all the important mansabdars there. Kishore Singh Hada had, therefore, to proceed there after his short stay at Kotah. At that time, he wanted to bring his eldest son Bishan Singh with him but he refused to go to the south and thereupon, Kishore Singh Hada debarred him from the *gaddi* of Kotah. He was

60. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 200. Athar Ali mentions the name of Kapur Singh Hada who held the mansab of 1000 zat and 1000 sawar vide *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 259, but this name should be Kishore Singh Hada. We do not find any name as Kapur Singh Hada in the chronology of the Hadas.

61. *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 238.

62. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 215.

given the *jagir* of Antah.<sup>63</sup> From this incident it may be observed that Kishore Singh Hada wanted his sons to serve the Mughals so as not to get any trouble at the time of accession. He wanted to please the Emperor by showing that he and his sons had been serving him with devotion. This would enable him to secure rank and position. On the other hand, Bishan Singh did not like to become the servant of the Mughals and therefore, declined to accompany his father in the Deccan with the result that his right to succeed the *gaddi* was set aside by the Chief.

Kishore Singh Hada alongwith his son, Ram Singh proceeded to the Deccan and joined the Mughal force there.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes after the arrival of Kishore Singh Hada, the Emperor decided to conquer Bijapur which had been hampering his operations against the Marathas. For that purpose an army was sent under the Chief command of Prince Azam. He was assisted among others by Kishore Singh Hada.<sup>65</sup> The Emperor himself marched there to supervise the operations. The army besieged Bijapur on 1st April, 1685 A.D. The Bijapuri army resisted the Mughals and they had to face many difficulties. Inspite of this the Emperor did not loose courage. The Hadas under their Chief, Kishore Singh fought with great valour and Adil Shah was made to surrender. The victory was thus achieved by the Mughals. In this battle, the Hada Chief was injured.<sup>66</sup> Sharma mentions that pleased with these services Kishore Singh Hada was awarded khilat, elephants, horses and jewelled dagger.<sup>67</sup>

63. Tod, ii, 411; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 202.

64. Tod, ii, 411; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 202.

65. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 152; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii. 323: Tod, ii, 410-11 *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 203. Tod mentions that Rao Anurudh Singh Hada was also sent to conquer Bijapur (ii, 389) but it is not correct as the Bundi Chief was busy in Malwa against Pahar Singh.

66. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 152.

67. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 204.

While the Emperor was busy in the Deccan, revolt broke out in Malwa in 1685 A.D. The incidents of this revolt has been narrated by Sarkar which are as follow:

"Pahar Singh Gaur, a Rajput zamindar of *Indrakhi* in western Bundelkhand, was serving the Emperor as faujdar of Shahbad Dhamdhera in Malwa. He was a man of matchless bravery and as chivalrous as he was brave. A zamindar of the neighbourhood named Lal Singh (of the Khichi Chauhan clan) was driven to despair by the exactions and oppression of his overlord, Anurudh Singh Hada (the Rajah of Bundi), and brought the alliance of Pahar Singh by offering him the hand of his daughter. Pahar Singh, who ranked low in Rajput society on account of his being a Chamar Gaur, jumped at the proposal of such an ennobling match, and immediately rode out with his 5000 expert troopers to the villages of Lal Singh and sent word to Anurudh Singh to spare his vassal. The Hada Rajah replied scornfully, 'You presume to make a display of your force to prevent me from taking my tribute.' When an ant puts forth wings, it is a sign of its approaching death.' The Gaur leader, on getting this reply, sent a challenge to Anurudh to prepare for battle, but the latter arrogantly said that such a foe was unworthy of his sword and that a few of his armed vassals would be sufficient to drive him away. But the Hada vanguard was defeated and driven back on their Rajah's camp by the heroic charges of Pahar Singh, and the boastful Anurudh fled on horseback without having time to tie his turban on his head. Pahar Singh refused to pursue him, replying to his counsellors in these noble words: 'It is against the rules of chivalry and heroism to strike a man who has turned his back.' But the Bundi Rajah's camp and baggage, worth lakhs of Rupees, fell into the victor's hands, who then returned home (early in 1685)."

"The Emperor, on hearing of it, ordered the victor to sent the booty to him. Pahar Singh refused, and then

openly broke with the imperial Government, taking to a life of rebellion and plundering in the villages of Malwa. At this time that province was being administered, in the absence of Prince Muhammad Azam, by Rai Muluk Chand, the assistant (*peshdast*) to his diwan. He carried out the Emperor's order to suppress the rebel, and attacked Pahar Singh at the village of Udaipur, some 28 miles south-east of Sironj."

"After a severe battle the rebel was slain (Nov. or Dec. 1685)..."<sup>68</sup>

From this incident it appears that Rao Anurudh Singh who was in the Deccan upto 1683 A.D. had returned to his dominion. Here he had to face trouble from Lal Singh who in alliance with Pahar Singh defeated the Hadas. The Hada Chief of Bundi might have informed the Emperor about the activities of Pahar Singh and might have requested him for help. The Emperor did not approve the action of Pahar Singh and therefore, ordered him to send the booty to him probably to return it to the Hada Chief. Pahar Singh not only refused to obey the orders but led the path of rebellion and was killed in an encounter.

In the Deccan, the fall of Bijapur was followed by an attack on Golkunda. The Emperor had already sent an army towards Golkunda which had succeeded in ousting the Qutub Shahi from Hyderabad in 1685 A.D. but they could not conquer Golkunda. After the conquest of Bijapur the Emperor concentrated his energies in the conquest of the kingdom of Qutub Shahi. He himself marched with his army and reached there in January, 1687 A.D. Kishore Singh Hada of Kotah with his contingent also accompanied the Emperor. The siege of the fort began soon after the arrival of the Imperial army there. The Qutub Shahis were also strong enough to stand the siege. They had a force of 40,000 cavalry under Shaikh Nizam which remained outside and they harassed the Mughals which

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68. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 245-47.

prevented their progress. The Emperor, therefore, sent an army to deal with them. This army consisted of the Hadas under Kishore Singh Hada. A severe battle took place in which the Hadas showed great bravery and uprooted the enemy.<sup>69</sup> In this battle the Hada Chief, Kishore Singh received injuries and he fell down from his horse.<sup>70</sup>

The Mughals after getting victory pressed on the siege. The Qutub Shahis inflicted heavy losses on the Imperial army, but the Emperor remained firm to conquer Golkunda. The Qutub Shahi's then decided to give battle which started in June, 1687 A.D. The battle was fierce in which the Hadas under Kishore Singh fought with great courage and determination inspite of the fact that he was injured in the previous battle. But their efforts proved of no avail as the enemy repulsed the Mughal attack. When power failed to bring the kingdom of Golkunda into Imperial fold, treachery was resorted and the Emperor secured the fall of the kingdom by such means on 21st Septemper, 1687 A.D.

In the same year, there arose some trouble in Bundi. Durjan Sal Hada, a leading vassal of Bundi who was in the Deccan returned to Bundi and revolted against the Imperial power. The historians have given different accounts of the revolt of Durjan Sal Hada. According to Saqi Mustad Khan, Kaviraj Shymal Das and Tod, Durjan Sal having been insulted by his master fled to Bundi, plundered the territories and sieged the fort of Bundi. The Emperor when heard the news of his revolt, gave a role, a horse, an elephant and kettledrum to Rao Anurudh Singh Hada and sent him to drive away the rebel from Bundi. He also sent an army under Mughal Khan to assist the Hada Chief of Bundi. Both the armies reached Bundi where battle took place between Durjan Sal Hada and Rao Anurudh Singh Hada. The Hada Chief being in superior position because of the assistance of Imperial forces, defeated

69. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr. 160; *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 329, 335; *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 368.

70. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 335; *History of Aurangzeb*, iv, 368.

Durjan Sal. However, the rebel fled from there under the cover of darkness. The Hada Chief thus achieved success and entered his ancestral dominion.<sup>71</sup>

Sarkar and Asopa mention that Durjan Sal Hada having been insulted by his master Rao Anurudh Singh Hada came to Bundi, plundered the territories and sieged the fort. Thereafter he went to Marwar with 1000 soldiers and married the sister of Mukund Singh Champawat. The relations between the Rathors and the Hada noble were thus strengthend and they rebelled jointly. They drove out the Mughal outposts in Marwar and raided and plundered many Imperial territories like Muhim, Rohtak and Rewari. They collected a large booty from these places and even menaced Delhi. The Imperial army had to march against them from Delhi. Hearing the march of the Imperial army the joint Rathor and Hada armies returned to Marwar before any encounter took place. Meanwhile the faujdar of Jodhpur also sent a force to chastise the rebellious Rajputs. Durjan Sal Hada after evading the Imperial army marched to Mandal with an intention to sack it, but a party of the banjaras attacked him. The party was later joined by Dindar Khan, the faujdar of Mandal and Raghunath Singh, the agent of Rao Anurudh Singh Hada. In an encounter Durjan Sal Hada was killed by a bullet.<sup>72</sup>

The accounts given by two groups of historian appear to be incomplete. While Mustad Khan, Shyamal Das and Tod do not mention the fate of Durjan Sal after his escape from the battle field, the historians like Sarkar and Asopa failed to make it clear as to why the Hada noble went to Marwar when he had not yet conquered the fort of Bundi which was besieged by him. However, the two accounts together give a complete picture of the events.

71. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 140-43; Tod, ii., 390; *Vir Vinod*,—ii, 114. The year 1683 A.D. as given in *Vir Vinod* for this incident does not seem to be correct because in that year Rao Anurudh Singh Hada was appointed against the Marathas in the Deccan.

72. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 224-25;—*Marwar ka Sankshipt Itihas*, 445.

The full account of the rebellion of Durjan Sal Hada appears to be like this. Durjan Sal Hada who was insulted by his Chief arrived in Bundi, plundered and captured the fort of Bundi. Emperor, therefore ordered Rao Anurudh Singh Hada who probably was in Malwa where he had gone to crush the rebellion, to march against the rebel. A force under Mughal Khan was also sent to assist the Hada Chief of Bundi. The joint forces of the Hada Chief and the Mughals defeated the rebel who took to his heels. Thereafter, with a force of 1000 men he went to Marwar as he could expect some help from the Rathors who themselves were leading the path of rebellion. There he married the sister of Mukund Singh Champawat. Then in collusion with Durga Das Rathor he again revolted in Jodhpur where they drove out the Mughal outposts and plundered a large territories. They also marched towards Delhi but had to return back on the approach of the Imperial army. The faujdar of Jodhpur also sent an army against the rebel. Durjan Sal Hada probably did not like to come into clash with the Imperial army because he did not possess sufficient resources at his command and therefore, he marched to Mandal where he was killed by a bullet when attacked by a band of banjaras alongwith Dindar Khan and Raghunath Singh who might have been pursuing the rebel.

After the death of Durjan Sal, Durga Das came to Bundi and managed to bring about reconciliation between Rao Anurudh Singh Hada and Daulat Singh and Fetah Singh, sons of the rebel Durjan Sal.<sup>73</sup>

The rebellion of the Hada noble was followed by the rebellion of the Jats. As already discussed earlier, the zamin-dar of Malwa rose in rebellion in 1685 A.D. and then in 1686 A.D. They organised themselves under the leadership of Raja Ram and started plundering the places and collected a large booty. The governor of Agra failed to subdue them. Khan Jahan who was sent earlier by the Emperor to deal with the Jats also remained ineffective. Ultimately the Emperor had

73. *Marwar ka Sankshipt Itihas*, 449.

to send an army under Prince Bidar Bakht in December, 1687 A.D. By then the Emperor had conquered Bijapur and Golkunda and therefore, he could relieve some of the gallant leaders from the Deccan for crushing the revolt of the Jats. Kishore Singh Hada known for his valour was one such leader who was directed to accompany the Prince. Rao Anurudh Singh Hada of Bundi who was in his own state at that time was also ordered to march to the assistance of the Imperial army.

The Imperial army reached near the village Bijal where a battle took place. But soon Rao Anurudh Singh Hada fled from the battle-field leaving his turban behind. Goverdhan, jagirdar of Rajgarh realised the gravity of the situation and to save any possible confusion among the Hada soldiers put on the turban of Bundi Chief on his head and gave encouragement to the Hada soldiers against the Jats.<sup>74</sup> Kishore Singh Hada, however, held the field with great vigour and courage. The Imperialists achieved victory over the Jats after killing their leader Raja Ram. In this battle Kishore Singh Hada fell unconscious with 27 wounds.<sup>75</sup> He was given leave to go to his state for recovery.

The victory was thus achieved by the Imperialists because of the bravery and resistance offered by the Hadas. The Emperor was much pleased with the services of Kishore Singh Hada but was annoyed with Rao Anurudh Singh Hada for his cowardice. He snatched the pargana of Kishori Rai Pattan from Rao Anurudh Singh Hada as a punishment and granted it to Kishore Singh Hada as a reward for his meritorious services against the Jats.<sup>76</sup>

The conquest of Bijapur and Golkunda in the Deccan did not bring entire Deccan under the Imperial control. The Marathas were still holding some forts. However, their power

74. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2887-88.

—75. *Kotah-Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 208-9.

76. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 2888.

was reduced because of the fact that no aid was coming to them. The Emperor, therefore, continued his operations against them. He recalled Kishore Singh Xada from Kotah to the Deccan to assist the Mughal army there.

The recall of Kishore Singh Hada at a time when his wounds had not fully healed up shows the great reliance the Emperor had on the Hada Chief. The Emperor must have recognised his generalship and would have visualised that the Imperial army would remain weak without the assistance of the Hadas. Besides, he had gained much experience in the Deccan affairs, and therefore, his presence in the army against the powerful and tactful Marathas was considered as essential.

On his arrival in the Deccan sometimes in the end of 1688 A.D., the services of Kishore Singh, the Hada Chief of Kotah were utilised in the conquest of the forts of Raigarh, Basantgarh and Bhavnagar.<sup>77</sup>

After the fall of the fort of Raigarh, the Imperialists captured the entire family of Shambhuji. However, Raja Ram escaped from the prison and after halting at various places reached Jinji. The Emperor on the other hand was determined to extinguish the Maratha king and his kingdom. He, therefore, appointed Zulfiqar Khan for that task. His army was strengthened with the Hada contingent under Kishore Singh of Kotah. Towards the close of 1694 A.D., Zulfiqar besieged the fort of Jinji. But he did not take serious steps against Raja Ram. The reason for this slackness on the part of the Imperial commander was that the Emperor had become old and the commander would have realised that he would not live long and in the confusion that would take place for the succession to the throne, he would be able to carve out a principality for himself with the help of the Marathas. Taking advantage of this slackness, the Marathas harassed the Imperial army. The Imperial army also did the same and the result

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77. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 206-7.

was that inhabitants deserted the place. This behaviour of the Khan could not be liked by the generals like Kishore Singh Hada who served the Emperor loyally throughout his life. Besides, he being a great warrior wanted to decide the issue by a battle rather than simply demonstrating their power. Daud Khan and Dalpat Rao also agitated over the behaviour of the Khan. It was reported that all the three once decided to arrest the Khan and sent him to the Emperor. Meanwhile Zulfiqar Khan took two or three forts from the Marathas and sent three lakhs of rupees to the Emperor. He then marched to Saddam in December, 1694 A.D.<sup>78</sup>

Next year nothing was achieved by the Mughals. However, in October, Vellore was besieged but not with great vigour. But the news of the arrival of the great Maratha generals, Santaji and Dhanaji with a force of 15000 men alarmed the Khan who after sending the families at Arcot, prepared for the battle. The Maratha army under Dhanaji besieged the Mughal faujdar in Tiru-vidi. Zulfiqar Khan promptly took action and drove him out. In this battle Kishore Singh Hada appears to have done some good services as the Emperor exalted him with a gift of a kettledrum.<sup>79</sup> There Santaji also arrived but the timely action of the Imperial commander beat back his attack in April, 1696 A.D. The Mughals thereafter adopted the defensive method. It was at this time that Kishore Singh Hada died.<sup>80</sup> The death of this gallant leader considerably weakened the Mughal army.<sup>81</sup>

Kishore Singh met a heroic death in defence of the fort of Arni. Throughout his life he served the Emperor with great sincerity and devotion. He never cared for his own

78. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 83-84; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 210-11.

79. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, 200 *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 323.

80. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasho*, 201; *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 84; Sharma M.L. —*op. cit.*, 213. Shahnawaz Khan mentions 1692 A.D. as the year of the death of Kishore Singh vide *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 323. The same date has been mentioned by Satish Chandra in his *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 5.

81. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 85.

health but obeyed the orders of the Emperor even when he had not recovered from his wounds. Tod mentions that "he was a noble specimen of a Hara; and, it is said, counted fifty wounds on his person."<sup>82</sup> The death of Kishore Singh Hada definitely shocked the Mughal general and Adviser. Kishore Singh Hada left behind four sons—Bishan Singh, Ram Singh, Arjun Singh and Harnath Singh.

In the north, the Emperor appointed his eldest surviving son, Shah Alam as the governor of the Punjab and Sindh in 1695 A.D. Rao Anurudh Singh Hada who had been in the north was ordered to accompany the Prince.<sup>83</sup> Rao Anurudh Singh Hada could not live long and died in the same year leaving four sons—Budh Singh, Jodh Singh, Amar Singh and Vijya Singh.

Rao Anurudh Singh Hada during his service remained loyal. At one time he at the risk of his own life saved the ladies of the harem from falling into the hands of the Marathas. However, he was not a good general. He could not face fierce battles and ran away from the battle-field twice.

Rao Anurudh Singh Hada was succeeded by his eldest son, Budh Singh to the *gaddi* of Bundi on 23rd December, 1695 A.D. at the age of 10 years.<sup>84</sup> The Emperor confirmed him in his ancestral dominion of Bundi and granted him the mansab of 2500 zat and 1000 sawar.<sup>85</sup> He was posted in place of his father in the Punjab under Shah Alam. Soon the young Chief came into the favour of the Prince who recommended the Emperor to restore the Pargana of Pattan to Rao Budh Singh Hada that was earlier granted to the Chief of Kotah. Besides, he secured the pargana of Tonk for the Hada Chief of Bundi which strengthened the power of the Hadas of

82. Tod, ii, 411.

83. *Vir Vinod*, ii, 114.

84. *Vanshi Bhashkar*, iv, 2897, 2923-24.

85. *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 239.

Bundi.<sup>86</sup> The favour showered by the Prince on the Hada Chief of Bundi shows that the Prince was very much impressed probably by his behaviour or at such a young age he might have shown bravery and valour or must have done some valuable services for the Prince. It is also quite possible that Prince Shah Alam was expecting that a struggle for the throne might ensue at any time and therefore, he wanted to win as many supporters for him as he could and for this purpose he considered the services of the Hada Chief of Bundi as most valuable.

In Kotah, Kishore Singh was succeeded by his son Ram Singh in April, 1696 A.D.<sup>87</sup> At the time of the death of his father, Ram Singh was with him in the siege of Jinji.<sup>88</sup> He had been in the Imperial service right from the beginning. He first held the mansab of 250 which was increased to 600<sup>89</sup> when he accompanied his father in the 1683 A.D. He served the Emperor in the Deccan against the Marathas and also did valuable services in the siege of Bijapur. After its fall, the mansab of the Hada *Kunwar* was increased to 1000 zat and 1000 sawar.<sup>90</sup>

After the death of Kishore Singh Hada, Zulfiqar Khan who had been impressed with the services of Ram Singh Hada secured the *gaddi* of Kotah for him.<sup>91</sup> There is confusion about the mansab granted to the Hada Chief of Kotah at the

86. *Akhbarat*, 22nd July, 1695; *Malwa in Transition*, 75; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 235.

87. Satish Chandra mentions that Ram Singh ascended the *gaddi* of Kotah in 1692-93 A.D. vide *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 5 which is not correct.

88. According to Bhim Sen and Shahnawaz Khan Ram Singh was in his native place at Kotah vide *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 201; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324. But the incidents taken place during that period clearly shows that Ram Singh was in the Deccan with his father.

89. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 205; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324.

90. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, 222.

91. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324; *Parties and Palitics at the Mughal Court*, 5

time of his accession. No historian except M. L. Sharma has mentioned the mansab granted to the Hada Chief of Kotah at the time of his accession. According to him, Ram Singh Hada was granted the mansab of 3000 zat and 3000 sawar at the time of his accession.<sup>92</sup> But this needs examination on the basis of the mansab increased subsequently. Mustad Khan and Shahnawaz Khan mention that the mansab of Ram Singh was increased by 1000 sawar making it to 2500 zat and 2500 sawar in the 48th year of Aurangzeb's reign on the condition to maintain the zamindari of Maumnidana in place of Rao Budh Singh Hada.<sup>93</sup> It means that prior to 48th year (1705-6 A.D.) of Aurangzeb's reign, he held the mansab of 2500 zat and 1500 sawar. Mustad Khan also mentions that the Hada Chief received an increase of 500 in 1705 A.D. after the conquest of Wangingera which means prior to this he held the mansab of 2000 zat and 1000 sawar. Since there was no increase in his mansab between 1696 A.D.—the year of his accession and 1705 A.D. it means that he was granted the mansab of 2000 zat and 1000 sawar<sup>94</sup> at the time of his accession to the *gaddi* of Kotah.

Soon after the accession of Ram Singh Hada trouble cropped up in Kotah. Hearing the death of his father Bishan Singh, the eldest son of the late Chief who was debarred from the *gaddi*, declared himself as the Chief of Kotah. When this news reached Deccan, the Emperor gave leave to Ram Singh Hada to proceed to his state to depose his elder brother from the *gaddi* and set right the affairs there. In Kotah, Bishan Singh in anticipation of an attack by his brother brought Harnath Singh, the youngest brother on his side and prepared himself for the defence. The forces of the two met at Ranagarh near Ava. In the battle that ensued, Harnath Singh was killed

92. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 222.

93. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 305; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324.

94. Bhim Sen mentions that Ram Singh Hada was made the mansabdar of "hazari" at the time of his accession vide *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 205, but it is not correct.

and Bishan Singh was wounded. He was removed from the battle-field. He then went to his in-laws in Pandair where he died after three years.

After achieving victory over his elder brother, Ram Singh Hada remained in Kotah for a few months to set right the affairs there which had been disturbed due to his long absence from his state and the tussle with his brother. During this period he gave Antah in jagir to Prithi Singh the son of his elder brother,<sup>95</sup> and Sangoda to Kushal Singh, son of Harnath Singh.<sup>96</sup>

Ram Singh Hada was soon recalled by the Emperor in the Deccan. At that time the Imperialists were busy in the conquest of Jinji but the Mughal commander did not achieve any success. The absence of the Hada Chief from the Deccan scene virtually hampered the progress of the Mughal operations. We had already seen that Zulfiqar Khan was slack in his operations and it was the energetic power of Kishore Singh Hada which compelled him to conduct the operations properly and achieved success against the Marathas. His death and the return of Ram Singh Hada left Zulfiqar Khan at his will and he became slow in his operations. Therefore, the Emperor might have realised the necessity of the Hadas there and recalled the Hada Chief from Kotah.

Ram Singh Hada left Kotah and reached Arcot in the early 1697 A.D. He was accompanied by his eldest son, Bhim Singh. On his arrival there the qiladari of the fort was entrusted to him<sup>97</sup> and was ordered to assist Zulfiqar Khan in the conquest of Jinji.

By the time Ram Singh reached Deccan, the position had changed. Both the Imperialists and the Maratha Chief,

95. Tod, ii, 411; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 223.

96. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 223.

97. *ibid.*, 224.

Raja Ram found themselves in financial difficulties. They were, therefore, not in a position to prepare themselves for the battles. Zulfiqar Khan, however, came out of this difficulty as he received tribute from Tanjor and other places in the south. On the other side Raja Ram could find no resources. Besides, dissensions cropped up between his two generals—Santaji and Dhanaji Yadav. Under such circumstances it was quite difficult for him to fight with the Mughals. The only course left to him was to come to terms with the Emperor. He, therefore, negotiated with the Emperor through Ram Singh Hada<sup>98</sup> who had by then earned a great deal of reputation and influence in the Mughal court. Ram Singh Hada forwarded the peace proposal of the Maratha Chief to the Emperor through Zulfiqar Khan with his recommendations. The Hada Chief must have had certain considerations in recommending the proposal. Firstly, Zulfiqar Khan was already in league with the Maratha Chief and the proposal would be welcomed by him. Secondly, he might have realised that there was financial stringency and therefore, it was likely that the proposal would be accepted. Finally and the most important consideration would be that the Hada Chief might have felt it futile to crush the Maratha Chief completely at a time when the Emperor had grown very old and there was possibility of confusion in the Empire after his death out of which the Marathas could take advantage. But all his hopes were dashed to the ground when the aged Emperor rejected the proposal and became adamant to annihilate the Maratha Chief and his kingdom. He further tightened Zulfiqar Khan to capture Jinji without delay.<sup>99</sup>

Zulfiqar Khan started his operations in Jinji with renewed vigour. He divided his army into three divisions. One division was led by himself and occupied the position opposite the north gate towards Sirghavaram hill; second division was posted in the west of the fort facing Shaitandari under the command of Ram Singh Hada, and the third division under Daud Khan

98. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, 207; *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 87.

99. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 87.

posted before Chikkatidurg.<sup>100</sup> This time also the Imperial commander was slow in his operations but he conquered two out of three forts. However, the Maratha Chief, Raja Ram escaped leaving his family in the fort of Rajgiri which till then was in the hands of the Marathas. This fort was the highest and the strongest. None of the Muslim generals dared to lead the army to conquer that fort. The brave Hadas who had always remained ahead in such difficult situation again came forward to capture that lofty fort. Their Chief, Ram Singh Hada made his way to the submmit of Rajgiri by crossing the chasm at its foot by means of a wooden ladders.<sup>101</sup> The family of Raja Ram fell into the hands of the Hada Chief. They were kept in "honourable captivity". Thus Jinji was conquered by the Imperialists but they made the Maratha Chief to escape.<sup>102</sup>

We find that the Hadas played a great role in the conquest of Jinji. They proved themselves to be great warriors who could undertake any task how so ever difficult it might be. The conquest of the fort of Rajgiri by them proved that they were superior to all other generals. While none of the Muslim generals dared to lead the army at such a lofty fort, Ram Singh Hada, a chivalrous Chauhan could do that work. This shows the sense of duty and loyalty the Hada Chief had towards the Emperor.

The Emperor then sent an army under Prince Bidar Bakht to pursue Raja Ram and his general Dhanaji Yadav who had escaped. In this also, the Emperor realised the necessity of sending the valiant Hadas and therefore, he ordered Ram Singh Hada to march with the Prince. In January, 1700 A.D., Zulfiqar Khan whose army consisted of the Hadas under the Chief of Kotah, attacked the Maratha general, Dhanaji Yadav. In this battle the Hadas again fought with great valour and with their assistance the Imperial army succeeded in defeating the enemy and they killed a large number of the Marathas.<sup>103</sup>

100. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 207, *ibid.*

101. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 209.

102. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 87-89.

103. *History of Anrangzeb*, v, 108-10.

Ram Singh Hada returned to the court with Zulfiqar Khan and others. The Emperor who was pleased with the services of the generals awarded them robes, jewels and promotions. Ram Singh Hada was also a recipient of the awards<sup>104</sup> and a kettledrum.<sup>105</sup>

After the conquest of the fort of Jinji, the Emperor personally marched to conquer the forts that were still under the control of the Marathas. He marched from Miraj to Panhala on 9th March, 1701 A.D.<sup>106</sup> Ram Singh Hada and other generals also reached the Imperial court at Panhala. The fort was besieged and was conquered soon. Thereafter the Hada Chief of Kotah received a kettledrum.<sup>107</sup> There is no mention of the part played by the Hada Chief in the conquest of Panhala but the award given to him indicates that he must have done some good services in that campaign. On 7th November, 1701 A.D., the Emperor marched for the conquest of Khelna.<sup>108</sup> Ram Singh Hada with Nasrat Jang after having fought with the Marathas at different places, reached near Elichpur. At that time the Hada Chief with his contingent was kept in the rear of the army because it was the practice of the Marathas to attack the rear of the army and therefore, a strong contingent was needed to face the attack of the Deccanis from the rear and hence the appointment of the Hadas in that position. The battle between the Imperialists and the Deccanis took place which continued for four days. The Deccanis made a sever attack on Ram Singh Hada in the rear and he was hard pressed. Rao Dalpat who was in the vanguard of the army had to send his artillery for the help of the Hada Chief. They then reached the fort of Khelna where Nasrat Jang reorganised his army. He divided his entire army of 1500 troopers into three divisions. One was commanded by himself;

104. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 260.

105. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324.

106. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 226.

107. *ibid.*, 227.

108. *ibid.*

the second by Rao Dalpat and the third by Ram Singh Hada. The enemy also reached there. The three divisions worked in unionism and they defeated the enemy.<sup>109</sup>

The Imperialists continued to hunt down the enemy and they came over them at the bank of the Bangana river. There again the enemy attacked Ram Singh Hada. The Hada Chief, a valiant general fought with the enemy. The courage and bravery of the Hada Chief is eulogised by Bhim Sen when he writes that "Ram Singh Hada was hard pressed. He fought bravely without abandoning order and caution. The enemy were too many, we too few. At last victory declared itself for the imperialists, many of the enemy were killed or wounded."<sup>110</sup> Even after the defeat the Marathas harassed the Imperial army. Zulfiqar Khan consulted Ram Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat and with their consent attacked the enemy with his small force and punished the enemy.<sup>111</sup>

Ram Singh Hada then returned to Aurangabad with Nasrat Jang. From there he was asked to escort the children and the harem of Prince Bidar Bakht from Aurangabad to Burhanpur and then to return to Aurangabad.<sup>112</sup>

The Hada Chief of Kotah Ram Singh was then called upon to join the Imperial army for the conquest of the fort of Wagingera. In early 1705 A.D. the Emperor himself proceeded for that purpose. In the organisation of the army, Ram Singh Hada was ordered to lead the rear of the army while the vanguard was commanded by another Rajput, Rao Dalpat.<sup>113</sup> A fierce battle took place between the Imperial army and the Berads of Wagingera which continued for a few days. The enemy killed many Rajputs but their deaths did not discourage any of the commanders. The Imperial army continued to

109. *ibid.*, 228-29.

110. *ibid.*, 229.

111. *ibid.*, 233.

112. *ibid.*, 244.

113. *History of Aurangzeb*, v, 185.

fight with the enemy courageously with the help of the Hadas. The Imperial commander Nasrat Jang in the company of Rao Dalpat and Ram Singh Hada fought on the other side of the fort and assaulted the village of Tilwara. This made the condition of the Berads so miserable that they had to leave the fort on 27th April, 1705 A.D. and had to run away.<sup>114</sup>

The Emperor who was present in Wagingera personally witnessed the valour and courage with which the Hada Chief had fought. He, therefore, increased his mansab by 500<sup>115</sup> raising it to 2500 zat and 1500 sawar.

The Hada Chief of Kotah had by then come in close contact with the Emperor. He had impressed the Emperor with his services and had acquired honour in the Mughal court. This was a golden opportunity for the Hada Chief of Kotah to get more favours of the Emperor. Therefore in 1706 A.D., he requested the Emperor to grant the zamindari of Maumnidana separating it from the jagir of Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi.<sup>116</sup> The Emperor granted the request of Ram Singh Hada and also increased his mansab by 1000 sawar raising it to 2500 zat and 2500 sawar.<sup>117</sup>

The services of the Hada Chiefs came to an end under Aurangzeb with his death on 3rd March, 1707 A.D. His death was followed by the struggle for the throne among the surviving sons—Prince Shah Alam, Azam and Kam Baksh. The first

114. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 246-49; *ibid.*, 185-88.

115. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, tr., 300.

116. *ibid.*, 305; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324. M.L.Sharma mentions that Ram Singh Hada was granted the parganas of Sarthal, Baraud and Khanpur which earlier was called Mau vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 240-41. Satish Chandra mentions that Ram Singh Hada was given the zamindari of Bundi in place of Rao Budh Singh Hada vide *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 5, which is not correct. The Persian chroniclers clearly mention that Ram Singh Hada was given Maumnidana which probably comprised of the small parganas as mentioned by Sharma.

117. *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, tr., 250; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324.

struggle started between Shah Alam and Azam. Each of the Princes had their own supporters which included Chiefs of the two Hada states—Bundi and Kotah. The house of Bundi was led by Rao Budh Singh Hada, who soon after his coming to the *gaddi* of Bundi had been posted in the Punjab under Prince Shah Alam.<sup>118</sup> He impressed the Prince so much that in the same year viz., 1695 A.D. the Prince recommended the Emperor to restore the pargana of Kishori Rai Pattan which was earlier granted to Kishore Singh Hada of Kotah. The association between the Hada Chief of Bundi and Prince Shah Alam developed to the extent that they became friends and when the war of succession broke out the Hada Chief of Bundi sided that Prince.

The house of Kotah, a younger branch of the Hadas of Bundi was led by Ram Singh Hada. He was in the Imperial service in the Deccan. He played an important role in the Deccan wars. The performance of the Chief in the conquest of the most difficult and lofty forts of Rajgiri and Waginera had impressed the Emperor. He always remained in the forefront in difficult times. His devotion and loyalty brought him fame, honour and prestige in the Mughal court. He served under Prince Azam in many campaigns in the Deccan and his behaviour and sincerity brought him close to that Prince. They became so close to each that he did not follow Zulfiqar Khan when the latter showed his unwillingness to support the Prince. Ram Singh Hada decided to support Prince Azam at all costs. On the other side the Prince also wanted to keep him on his side as he had proved himself to be a capable general. He, therefore, woed him. He, after the

118. M.L.Sharma mentions that Rao Budh Singh Hada got annoyed with the Emperor and therefore, he left him and joined Prince Muazzam in Kabul vide *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 233, but we find that Rao Budh Singh Hada was posted in the Punjab in place of his father Rao Anurudh Singh Hada. Secondly, it was an offence to leave Imperial camp without permission and was liable to be punished. No punishment was awarded to the Hada Chief of Bundi and therefore, it is wrong that Rao Budh Singh Hada would have committed this offence.

death of Aurangzeb, raised him to the mansab of 4000 zat and 4000 sawar.<sup>119</sup> Prince also promised to grant Bundi to the Hada Chief of Kotah after getting the throne.<sup>120</sup>

Besides the personal attachment with the Princes, there were other reasons also which brought the houses of Bundi and Kotah in opposite camps. Actually the enmity between the Chiefs of the two states started much earlier. The Chiefs of both the states tried their best to appease the Emperor and to gain as much territory as possible in jagir. The Emperor very wisely kept them in good humour. He tossed a few parganas of their own dominion between the two Chiefs and this created jealousies between the two Chiefs which was not perceptible till the death of Aurangzeb. Both waited for an opportune time to take revenge from the other. The war for succession following the death of Aurangzeb was the first available opportunity when each Chief took up the cause of his own favourite Prince. Secondly, as Tod puts it, "In opposing the cause of Shah Alum, Ram Singh of Kotah was actuated by his ambition to become the head of the Haras, and in anticipation of success had actually been invested with the honours of Boondi."<sup>121</sup> It was likely that Rao Budh Singh Hada would also be having the same ambition. Tod thus correctly writes, "With such stimulants on each side did the rival Haras meet face to face on the plains of Jajow, to decide at the same time the pretensions to empire, and what affected them more, those of their respective heads to superiority."<sup>122</sup>

Thus we find that the two houses of the same branch joined the opposite camps to espouse the cause of the two aspirants to the throne. However, before the battle took place Ram Singh Hada wrote to Rao Budh Singh Hada to desert Prince Shah Alam and to come over to the side of Prince Azam. On the surface this invitation looks as if he did not

119. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324,

120. *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 236.

121. Tod, ii, 391.

122. *Ibid.*

like that the Hadas should fight against each other, but it had a great significance. By inviting the Hada Chief of Bundi on the side of Prince Azam he desired to weaken the army of Prince Shah Alam which might lead to an easy victory over him. This did not come in clash with his own interest as he had already made an agreement with Prince Azam for granting Bundi to him after his success in the war. Rao Budh Singh Hada rejected the proposal of Ram Singh Hada saying, "That the field which his ancestor had illustrated by his death, was not that whereon he would disgrace his memory by the desertion of his prince."<sup>123</sup> By rejecting the invitation, Rao Budh Singh Hada showed that he was equally shrewd. He had anticipated that even if he changed side and Prince Azam won the battle, he would not be benefitted. He would not gain any thing as the Hada Chief of Kotah was favourite of the Prince. Secondly, he might be jealous of Ram Singh Hada because a year ago he had to loose the pargana of Maumnidana to Ram Singh Hada. Thirdly, Rao Budh Singh Hada was so much devoted to his Prince that when Jodh Singh, the brother of the Hada Chief died, the Prince asked him to go to Bundi to console his relatives, he replied, "It is not to Boondi my duty calls me, but to attend my sovereign in the field—to that of Dholpoor, renowned for many battles and consecrated by the memory of the heroes who have fallen in the performance of their duty," adding "that there his heroic ancestor Chutter-sal fell, whose fame he desired to emulate, and by the blessing of heaven, his arms should be crowned with victory to the empire."<sup>124</sup>

The two armies arrived at Jajaw and the battle started on 18th Rabi ul Awwal, 1119 A.H./10th June, 1707 A.D. The vanguard of each side comprised of the Hadas headed by their Chiefs—Rao Budh Singh Hada on the side of Prince Azim us Shan, son of Shah Alam and Ram Singh Hada alongwith Dalpat, Raja Jai Singh and Zulfiqar Khan on the side of Prince Azam.<sup>125</sup> Ram Singh Hada was made incharge of the

123. *ibid.*

124. Tod, ii, 391.

artillery of Prince Azam and he was placed in the vanguard of the army.<sup>126</sup> The vanguard of Prince Azam had to face the attack of the van of Prince Azim us Shan. The battle was terrific and both sides fought with great bravery. Each side exerted its energies to overpower the other. The van of Prince Azam under Rao Dalpat and Ram Singh Hada fought with great valour.<sup>127</sup> They proved stronger to that of the opponent and repulsed the van of Azim us Shan. In this action Prince Azam lost two of his great generals Ram Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat on whom he had great reliance.<sup>128</sup> Both the generals met the heroic death.

The death of Ram Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat broke the back-bone of Azam's army. The Prince was disheartened by their death and he left every hope to win that battle. The other commanders Zulfiqar Khan and Raja Jai Singh deserted the Prince which further weakened Azam's army with the result that he was defeated. In this battle he and his son lost their life. Shah Alam won the battle with the help of his trusted nobles like Rao Budh Singh Hada.

This struggle for the throne thus drove the Hadas of Bundi and Kotah into open conflict with each other. From that time onwards the two houses became enemy of each other and they always remained in the opposite camps.

125. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 584; *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan* (Elliot & Dowson, vii, 539); *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 237.

126. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 588.

127. Ram Singh was on the left side of the second son of Prince Azam, mounted on an elephant. A ball struck at the trunk of the elephant and he ran in opposite direction. The Hada Chief of Kotah came down from it and rode on the horse back and fought against other side. Soon he had to leave the horse also. He then took his sword in hand and fought on foot. By that time he had already received many wounds. He killed many of the soldiers of Prince Azim us Shan's army but was struck by the bullet which took his life.—Sharma, M.L.—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 237.

128. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 588-91; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324; *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan* (Elliot & Dowson, vii, 546); *Malwa in Transition*, 94; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 18.

## **Political Upheaval and the Crisis in the Hada Houses (1707-1720 A.D.)**

The period following the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. upto 1720 A.D. witnessed another significant change in the relations of the Hadas of Bundi and Kotah with the Mughal Emperors. During this period the Mughal Empire was on the decline and taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Emperors the nobles of the court started assuming powers and they became the makers of the Emperors. But there was no unanimous decision in favour of any Prince for the succession to the throne. The result was that after the death of Aurangzeb, the succession was always decided by the sword and who so ever came out victorious ascended the throne and he remained in power so long as he enjoyed the support of the powerful nobles. The Hadas of Bundi and Kotah who had by then become antagonist to each other also jumped into this politics and joined hands with the rival groups.

In the struggle that followed the death of Aurangzeb, each Hada Chief patronised his own Prince. From this time onwards, the two Hada Chiefs became enemy of each other and since then both never espoused the cause of a common Prince. They always remained in rival camps. The Hada Chief, whose favourite Prince came out victorious, tried to become powerful

over the other Hada Chief and he tried to become the head of the entire Hada clan. This led to frequent struggle between the Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah. Thus during this period the houses of Bundi and Kotah became staunch enemy of each other and they fought between themselves ignoring that they belonged to one and the same branch. The Emperors also played an important role in intensifying the enmity between the two houses. They on their part, patronised the Chief who supported their cause and backed that Chief against the other. By this policy, the Emperor might not have gained anything but he definitely showed his favours to his favourite Chief. The other Hada Chief who sided the other Prince could hardly get any benefits from the Emperor. During this period only one Hada Chief at one time received favours of the Emperor. This aspect covers the period from 1707 to 1720 A.D. in regard to the relations of the Hadas with the Mughal Emperors, as will be discussed in the following pages.

As already discussed earlier, Bahadur Shah succeeded to the throne in June, 1707 A.D. in whose succession Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi played an important part. Therefore, Bahadur Shah, immediately after his accession, confirmed Rao Budh Singh Hada in his jagir in accordance with the practice prevalent during that period; conferred on him the high title of Maharao Raja<sup>1</sup> and increased his mansab to 3500 zat and 3500 sawar.<sup>2</sup> While the Emperor showed favours to Maharao Budh Singh, he did not penalise Bhim Singh Hada, son of Ram Singh Hada of Kotah who had taken side against him in the battle of Jajaw. He confirmed Bhim Singh in the jagir of Kotah

1. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 2998-99; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 115; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 254. As mentioned in *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 307, Rao Budh Singh was given the title of Ram Raja. Tod, (ii, 392) and Raghbir Singh (*Malwa in Transition*, 113) mention that the Chief of Kotah was given the title of Rao Raja. Khafi Khan have used the title of Maharao with the name of Budh Singh and the same title have been used for the Chief of Bundi till recently. Therefore Surya Mal Misri and Shyamal Das have correctly mentioned the title of Maharao conferred on Budh Singh Hada.

2. *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 307; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv 2998-99; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 254.

and was given the mansab of 1500 zat and 1500 sawar.<sup>3</sup>

The services of Maharao Budh Singh Hada were utilised for the first time by Emperor Bahadur Shah in his campaign against the Rathors. Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah was also ordered to accompany the Imperial army. The presence of Maharao Budh Singh in the Imperial army could serve double purpose. The Emperor might have felt that there were some possibilities of reconciliation with the Rathors and therefore, he might have realised that Maharao Budh Singh would prove useful in influencing the Rathor Chief and would bring about settlement with him. But, if the war became inevitable, the Emperor would have the services of the chivalrous Hadas on his side.

The Emperor marched towards Jodhpur via Amber where he stayed for three days.<sup>4</sup> When he started from Amber, the Emperor kept Maharao Budh Singh along with Raja Jai Singh and Chattar Sal Rathor in the rear of the army.<sup>5</sup> The Emperor after reaching near Jodhpur sent a farman on 12th February, 1708 A.D. to Durga Das Rathor. After some correspondence, the Emperor sent Khan Zaman and Maharao Budh Singh Hada to have an interview with Maharaja Ajit Singh at Jodhpur.<sup>6</sup> The reconciliation between the Mughals and the Rathors was probably brought about with the intervention of Maharao Budh Singh Hada. With this settlement ended the wars with the Rathors. After the conclusion of the campaign against the Rathors, the mansab of Bhim Singh Hada was raised to 1500 zat and 1750 sawar. The sources are silent over the role played by Bhim Singh Hada which brought about the increase in his mansab. However, we find that the increase in the mansab was not very substantial and therefore, it can be presumed that the Emperor out of happiness with the settlement with the Rathors

3. *Jaipur and the Later Mughals*, 22.

4. It was during the stay of three days at Amber that Maharao Budh Singh took leave from the Emperor and ceremonised his marriage with the sister of Raja Jai Singh and after the settlement with the Rathors he took ten days' leave and married with the daughter of the Chief of Begu vide *Vansh Bhashkar*, iii, 3000-10.

5. *Jaipur and the Later Mughals*, 20.

6. *Later Mughals*, i, 68; *Parties and the Politics at the Mughal Court*, 52.

might have increased the mansabs of some nobles and Bhim Singh, therefore, also received an increase in his mansab.

The Imperial army after settling the affairs in Jodhpur proceeded to the Deccan to deal with his brother Kam Baksh. At that time Maharao Budh Singh Hada might have requested the Emperor to grant him the entire jagir of Kotah consisting of 54 forts including the forts of Jhalar Pattan, Gagraun, Shahbad Shergarh, Barod, Chechat, Pachaphar, Dang, Kotah etc. Which was granted by the Emperor.<sup>7</sup>

The favour that Maharao Budh Singh received from the Emperor is of significance. Maharao Budh Singh had played an important part in the war of succession and in the settlement with the Rathors. Moreover, the Emperor might have been annoyed with Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah for the offences of his father and would have been in search of an opportunity to penalise him. Thus when the Chief of Bundi requested for the grant of Kotah, the Emperor found opportunity to take revenge from the Chief of Kotah and therefore, readily accepted the request of Maharao Budh Singh. On the other side, Maharao Budh Singh Hada also found that the Emperor was favourably inclined towards him and therefore, it was the most opportune time for him to take revenge from the Chief of Kotah. He was annoyed with the Chief of Kotah because at the request of Ram Singh Hada of Kotah, Emperor Aurangzeb transferred the pargana of Mauminidana from Bundi to Kotah. This might have enraged the Chief of Bundi but he concealed his anger because he had no contacts with the Emperor who was then in the Deccan whereas he was posted in the Punjab. He could not find any opportunity to recover his lost territory then, but he got the opportunity during the reign of Bahadur Shah and received the grant of the entire jagir of Kotah. Lastly, the desire of the Emperor to merge Kotah with Bundi to form one unit at his command is also a possibility which cannot be completely ruled out.

7. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 2999; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 1414; *Kotah Rajya ka Ittias*, i, 254-55; *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 32.

Maharao Budh Singh Hada though received the farman granting to jagir of Kotah to him but he could not go personally to take over that territory. He had to accompany the Emperor to the Deccan who had gone there to deal with Prince Kam Baksh. Therefore, Maharao Budh Singh Hada sent the message to his ministers in Bundi to conquer Kotah. On receiving this message Jodh Raj, the Minister and Ganga Ram Dhaibai, his adviser decided to send an army under the command of Jogi Ram against Kotah.<sup>8</sup>

Before the army of Bundi actually marched towards Kotah, Jogi Ram sent the farman of the Emperor to Bhim Singh in which the jagir of Kotah was granted to Maharao Budh Singh Hada and asked Bhim Singh Hada to vacate Kotah in accordance with the Imperial orders without shedding the blood of the Hada soldiers. On receiving the farman, Bhim Singh Hada in order to bring about some agreement, sent Bal Krishan Viyas and Fetah Chand Kayasth to the mother of Maharao Budh Singh Hada in Bundi. They pleaded on behalf of their Chief that the Chief of Kotah was prepared to cede his entire jagir except Kotah which should be allowed to be retained by him. The mother of the Chief of Bundi did not agree to that proposal and both the persons left Bundi. The Chief of Kotah was then advised to prepare himself to fight with the forces of Bundi.<sup>9</sup>

The army of Bundi under Jogi Ram on its march to Kotah crossed Chambal and reached Kanchodikhera. By that time Bhim Singh Hada had also arrived there with his army. The battle started in which Jogi Ram could not face his opponent. He was wounded in the battle and he fell down dead. His death created confusion in the army and they took to their heels. The Chief of Kotah thus achieved victory over the army of Bundi<sup>10</sup> and saved Kotah from falling into the hands of the Chief of Bundi.

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8. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3008.

9. *ibid.*, 3008-9.

10. *ibid.*, 3023; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 1414.

The news of this defeat was conveyed to Maharao Budh Singh Hada in the Deccan. As he was at a distant place, he was helpless to do any thing. However, the nobles in Bundi were not discouraged by this defeat. They once again organised their army and sent it against Kotah. This time the command of the army was entrusted to Ganga Ram. Besides the Hadas, the army of Bundi comprised 5000 soldiers of Ali Khan Rohila who was also employed in the army. This strong force headed by Ganga Ram was a terror to Bhim Singh Hada, but he was a shrewd diplomat. He prevailed upon Ganga Ram and then succeeded in defeating his army.<sup>11</sup>

The defeat of the forces of Bundi twice could have been due to various reasons. Firstly, the army of Bundi was commanded by the nobles of Bundi and not by their Chief whereas the army of Kotah was commanded personally by its Chief. The absence of the Chief not only from the army but also from Bundi was an important factor in the defeat of Bundi. Secondly, the commanders of the army of Bundi were not well versed in the warfare whereas the army of Kotah was commanded by an able and experienced general in the person of Bhim Singh Hada. He acquired the experience during the reign of Aurangzeb when he participated in the fight in the Deccan. Lastly and the most important factor which led to the defeat of the Hadas of Bundi was the shrewd diplomacy of Bhim Singh Hada by which he prevailed upon the commander of his oppo-

11. The manner in which Bhim Singh Hada prevailed upon Ganga Ram has been mentioned in details by Surya Mal Misrn. According to him Bhim Singh Hada wrote a flattering letter to Ganga Ram asking him to allow him to take Bundi in return of which he promised him a high position. Moved by this false promise Ganga Ram loosened his command, the result of which was that fighting continued for two months. During this period Ali Khan Rohila did not get the salary of his troops. He, therefore, arrested Ganga Ram and also sent a message to Hari Ram, Prime Minister of Bundi that he would release Ganga Ram after receiving his dues. This created confusion in the Bundi Army, the advantage of which was availed of by Bhim Singh who defeated the army of Bundi. Later on, by the orders of the Chief of Bundi the payment was made to Ali Khan and Ganga Ram was released. vide *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3022-23.

ent's army and achieved victory over him. Thus Maharao Budh Singh Hada even after receiving the grant could not take possession of Kotah from Bhim Singh Hada.

On his return from the Deccan, Maharao Budh Singh Hada came to Rajputana with the Emperor who had come there to deal with the Rajput Chiefs—Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Ajit Singh. They had deserted the Mughal camp in the Deccan and returned to their native states. The Emperor reached near Ajmer on 15th May, 1710 A.D. where these Chiefs again submitted to the Emperor and prayed for the pardon of their offences. Meanwhile, the news of the Sikh uprising reached the Emperor. He, therefore, decided to make settlement in Rajputana speedily so as to march to the Punjab to curb the Sikh uprising. The Emperor again utilised the services of Maharao Budh Singh who was sent with Mahabat Khan against the Rajput Chiefs.<sup>12</sup> Both the Chiefs of Jaipur and Jodhpur offered their submission. It is likely that Maharao Budh Singh Hada might have played the role of a mediator and he being the brother-in-law of Raja Jai Singh might have prevailed upon the Raja. The Raja on his part might also have realised that he could be pardoned through the intervention of Maharao Budh Singh Hada who happened to be an intimate friend of the Emperor. Maharaja Ajit Singh might also have realised the same and therefore, both the Rajput Chiefs submitted to the Emperor.

After settling the affairs in Rajputana, the Emperor proceeded to the Punjab to deal with the Sikhs. Maharao Budh Singh Hada took leave from the Emperor and returned to Bundi. He continued to remain there till the death of the Emperor on 27th February, 1712 A.D. The death of Bahadur Shah must have upset Maharao Budh Singh. He lost his favourite Emperor who had bestowed upon him many favours. He was raised from the mansab of 2500 zat and 1000 sawar to 3500 zat and 3500 sawar ; conferred on him the high title of Maharao and granted him the entire jagir of Kotah though Maharao Budh Singh Hada failed to take possession of the newly granted jagir. But this transfer of jagir had a significant

12. *Akhbarat*, 17th May, 1710.

effect in the sense that from that time the Hada Chief of Kotah also remained in search of an opportunity to win the favour of the Emperor and to obtain in grant the jagir of Maharao Budh Singh. Thus the quarrel between the two houses became common feature till 1720 A.D.

The death of Bahadur Shah was followed by the struggle for the throne in which Jahandar Shah came out victorious and he ascended the throne on 29th March, 1712 A.D. He ruled till January, 1713 A.D. during which the Hada Chiefs continued to hold their own jagirs. Neither of them received any favours or disfavours from the new Emperor.<sup>13</sup> During his reign both the Hada Chiefs adopted the policy of neutrality towards the Emperor and they also remained peaceful towards each other.

Jahandar Shah was deposed by Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Azim us Shan, second son of Bahadur Shah in January, 1713 A.D.

The accession of Farrukh Siyar marked the beginning of the rise in the position of Bhim Singh Hada in the Mughal court. This Hada Chief did not find favours of the earlier Emperors. However, he did not loose his courage and after the accession of the new Emperor, he was on the look out for an opportunity to retrieve his position which he got soon.

In the coronation ceremony, Emperor Farrukh Siyar summoned all his nobles. Maharao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi did not attend that ceremony. Later also he did not respond to the repeated summons of the Emperor<sup>14</sup> and thus the Chief of Bundi annoyed the Emperor. The position was further exploited by Maharaja Raj Singh of Kishangarh<sup>15</sup> who poisoned the ears

13. M. L. Sharma mentions that Jahandar Shah probably recognised Bhim Singh Hada as the Chief of Kotah and his son, Arjun was appointed as the saujdar of Mangrol—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 276.

14. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv 3040-48; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 258; *Malwa in Transition*, 114; *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 121.

15. Maharaja Raj Singh was the father-in-law of Bhim Singh Hada. He was annoyed with Maharao Budh Singh Hada because he refused to marry his daughter—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 258.

of the Emperor against Maharao Budh Singh Hada. However, the Emperor did not take any immediate action against him. On the other side Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah approached the Sayyid Brothers who were virtually the administrators of the Empire. On the intercession of these Brothers the Emperor confirmed Bhim Singh Hada to his ancestral dominion of Kotah and granted him the mansab of 2500 zat and 2500 sawar.<sup>16</sup>

Maharao Budh Singh remained hostile towards the Emperor. During the campaign of the Imperialists headed by the Sayyid Brothers against Maharaja Ajit Singh Rathor, Maharao Budh Singh marched against Kotah but he could not achieve any success there. The activities of Maharao Budh Singh enraged the Sayyid Brothers who decided to punish him. This was a golden opportunity for Bhim Singh Hada to exploit the situation. He immediately approached the Sayyid Brothers with the request to obtain the zamindari of Bundi for him. The Sayyid Brothers who were already annoyed with the Chief of Bundi interceded with the Emperor on behalf of Bhim Singh Hada and secured for him the zamindari of Bundi.<sup>17</sup> The territories which were granted to Bhim Singh Hada comprised the territories between Mandalgarh and Bundi, Kheechiwara and Gagraun.<sup>18</sup> The grant of Bundi to the junior branch of the Hadas had great significance in the sense that in the case of Hadauti the Emperor retained himself the right to transfer any part of the territory to anyone he liked and it was not necessary that the Chiefs would be given their ancestral territory as *watan jagir*.

On 8th September, 1713 A.D. Bhim Singh Hada came to

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16. Tod and M.L. Sharma mention that Bhim Singh Hada was granted the mansab of 5000 in the beginning and the zamindari of Bundi including the territories between Bundi and Mandalgarh, Kheechiwara, Umarwara and Gagraun vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajashtan*, ii, 411; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 277. The statement of these historians are not correct as these grants were received by him in September, 1713 A.D.
  17. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3040-43; *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 121-22.
  18. Tod, ii, 411; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 277.

Budh Singh Hada. Accordingly, the Maharana sent a message to Maharao Bhim Singh Hada politely turned down the request by giving evasive replies.<sup>26</sup>

Maharao Budh Singh Hada while in Malwa had been assisting Raja Jai Singh against the rebels there. When the Raja marched against Inyat Ullah who had been creating troubles near Malwa, Maharao Budh Singh immediately reached there to the assistance of the Raja.<sup>27</sup> The Raja with the help of the Hada Chief succeeded in crushing the revolt of Inyat Ullah. Pleased with the services of Maharao Budh Singh, the Raja decided to plead his case before the Emperor for restoration of Bundi to the Maharao.

Raja Jai Singh then made overtures to the Emperor to restore Bundi to Maharao Budh Singh. At first the Emperor did not give any thought at his request, but soon the political condition changed in the Mughal court. The Sayyid Brothers had quarrelled with the Emperor. They had the support of some powerful nobles including Maharaja Ajit Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh. It, therefore, became necessary for the Emperor to win the support of as many nobles as possible to counter-balance the power of the Sayyid Brothers. With this aim, the Emperor decided to bring Raja Jai Singh to his side. He called him to his court. Raja Jai Singh accompanied with his brother-in-law Maharao Budh Singh, started from Malwa for Delhi. The aim of the Raja to bring the Hada Chief of Bundi with him to the Imperial court was that he would intercede with the Emperor on his behalf for pardon and restoration of Bundi to him. The Raja arrived at the Mughal court and presented himself before the Emperor on 25th May, 1716 A.D.<sup>28</sup> By that time the jats under the leadership of their leader Churaman had

26. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3047. Surya Mal Misrn writes that Maharao Bhim Singh politely replied, "Budh Singh is not capable to rule the state and cannot control the affairs there. If I leave Bundi, it will pass into the hands of the Muslims." But the word "Muslims" could not have been used by Maharao Bhim Singh as he was the beneficiary of the Emperor who was a Muslim.

27. *Akhbarat*, April 1715.

28. *Jalpur and the Later Mughals*, 40.

revolted against the Imperial power. The Raja offered his services against the jats. At the same time he introduced Maharao Budh Singh to the Emperor and pleaded that Maharao Budh Singh could not attend the coronation ceremony of the Emperor because he was very much shocked at the death of Bahadur Shah who happened to be his close friend.<sup>29</sup> He requested the Emperor to pardon the Chief of Bundi and restore Bundi to him. The Emperor who was already facing the opposition of the Sayyid also found it as an opportunity to win over the Hada Chief. Besides, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada had joined hands with the Sayyid Brothers and therefore, his power was to be reduced. It was because of these considerations that the Emperor promised to restore to Maharao Budh Singh Hada his entire jagir.<sup>30</sup> He first of all restored the pargana of Mauminidana to him which he received on 1st January, 1716 A.D.<sup>31</sup> The Emperor sent Dilawar Khan and Ram Chand, the diwan of Raja Jai Singh with a farman to obtain Bundi from Maharao Bhim Singh Hada and to place it under *khalisa*. Maharao Bhim Singh complied with the Imperial orders and vacated Bundi without any hesitation. After sometime the kingdom of Bundi was given back to Maharao Budh Singh.<sup>32</sup> However, the parganas of Bara and Mau were held by Maharao Bhim Singh.

In September, 1716 A.D., the Emperor ordered Raja Jai Singh to march against the Jats. He accompanied by Maharao Budh Singh, Maharao Bhim Singh and Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar started his campaign on 25th September, 1716 A.D.<sup>33</sup> The Raja besieged the fort of Thun on 19th November, 1716 A.D. The siege of the fort continued for over twenty months but the Raja failed to achieve any success over the enemy. Meanwhile, Churaman opened negotiation with the Emperor through Qutub ul Mulk. In the settlement that took place

29. *ibid.*, 40; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 264.

30. *Akhbarat*, 18th September, 1715; *Later Mughals*, i, 333.

31. *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 124 fn.

32. *Akhbarat*, 6th August, 1716; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3052-53; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 264-65; *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 128.

33. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3053-59; *Later Mughals*, i, 324.

Churaman Jat agreed to pay his tribute. The Raja was ordered to raise the siege.<sup>34</sup>

The failure of Raja Jai Singh to achieve victory over the Jats has been attributed to the treachery on the part of Qutub ul Mulk who being jealous of the Raja did not want that the Raja should achieve any success over the Jats and earn prestige in the Mughal court. Besides, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada also might not have given full support to the Raja. He must have borne a grudge against the Raja because it was at the intervention of the Raja that the jagir of Bundi had been taken away from him and restored it to Maharao Budh Singh Hada. In this campaign Maharao Bhim Singh Hada in order to lower down the prestige of the Raja in the eyes of the Emperor, did not provide assistance to him. He, therefore, seems to have supported Qutub ul Mulk in frustrating the attempts of the Raja to achieve success over the Jats.

Raja Jai Singh returned to Delhi in April, 1718 A.D. Contrary to the expectations of his opponents, he was not punished for his failures ; rather he continued to enjoy the favours of the Emperor. By that time the enmity between the Sayyid Brothers and the Emperor had increased and therefore, the Emperor could not afford to annoy any of his supporters. This was again an opportunity for Raja Jai Singh to put forward the claim of Maharao Budh Singh for the parganas of Bara and Mau which were held by Maharao Bhim Singh Hada. The Emperor sent a farman to Maharao Bhim Singh Hada to vacate both these parganas and to hand them over to Maharao Budh Singh. The Chief of Kotah immediately obeyed the Imperial orders.<sup>35</sup> Thus in 1718 A.D., the Chiefs of Bundi and

34. *Later Mughals*, i, 324-27.

35. Surya Mal Misra has narrated a story in regard to the reconciliation that was brought about by Raja Jai Singh between the Hada Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah. According to him Raja Jai Singh who was interested that Maharao Budh Singh Hada should receive back the lost parganas of Bara and Mau from Maharao Bhim Singh, came from Malwa to Hadauti. He, then accompanied with Maharao Budh Singh came to the Imperial court at Delhi in S. 1773 (1716 A.D.) to intercede with the Emperor for the transfer of these two parganas to Maharao Budh Singh Hada. He pleaded that mutual

Kotah held their respective hereditary dominion. Salim Singh was appointed to look after the affairs of Bundi.

By 1718 A.D. Maharao Budh Singh received back all his lost territory including the parganas of Bara and Mau that were frequently tossed to and fro between the Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada who was annoyed with the Emperor and had already allied himself with the Sayyid Brothers now became determined to help them against the Emperor and to recover these territories with their help. By that time the Sayyid Brothers had hatched a conspiracy to depose the Emperor. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada and Maharaja Ajit Singh

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quarrels between the two Hada Chiefs had resulted in the decline of their power and therefore, the Emperor should immediately take steps to bring peace between the two Chiefs. The Emperor issued a farman to Maharao Bhim Singh Hada ordering him to make friendship with Maharao Budh Singh Hada and return to him his parganas of Bara and Mau. On receiving the farman Maharao Bhim Singh Hada went to Raja Jai Singh for dialogue. Raja Jai Singh advised him to return the parganas of Bara and Mau to Maharao Budh Singh Hada and, in order to give up their enmity, he proposed him to take meals with Maharao Budh Singh Hada. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, knowing well that Raja Jai Singh was favourite of the Emperor and his supporter, Sayyid Hussain Ali was away in the Deccan, had no alternative but to accept the proposal of the Raja. Accordingly, the Chief of Kotah returned both the parganas of Bara and Mau to Maharao Budh Singh Hada and took meals with him—*Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3052-59.

On analysing the statement of Surya Mal Misrn we find that there are some inaccuracy in his narration. Raja came to the court at Delhi in 1716 A.D. direct from Malwa along with Maharao Budh Singh Hada who was also with him in Malwa, and not via Hadauti. At that time the Raja only succeeded in obtaining Bundi for him. Therefore, he remained busy upto early 1718 A.D. against the Jats. The parganas of Bara and Mau were restored to Maharao Budh Singh after the conclusion of the campaign against the Jats. Surya Mal Misrn himself mentions subsequently that after a few months of the restoration of the two parganas to the Chief of Bundi, Sayyid Hussain Ali returned from the Deccan—*Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3059. The Sayyid Hussain Ali returned from the Deccan in October-November, 1718 A.D.—Irvine—*op. cit.*, 357-62. Thus the date given by Surya Mal regarding the restoration of the two parganas to the Bundi Chief is wrong.

Rathor were the prominent nobles of the court who were closely associated with the Sayyid Brothers in the conspiracy.

On the other side, the Emperor had also gathered the support of a few nobles, prominent among them were Raja Jai Singh and Maharao Budh Singh Hada. But in the face of the opposition from the Sayyid Brothers, the Emperor tried to negotiate with them. He agreed to accept all the demands of the Sayyids, but the Sayyid Brothers had received the support of a number of other important nobles like Muhammad Amin Khan<sup>36</sup> and therefore, did not come to terms with the Emperor.

On 19th February, 1719 A.D., Qutab ul Mulk, Maharaja Ajit Singh Rathor and Maharao Bhim Singh came to meet Hussain Ali. They held a council where it was decided that the Sayyid Brothers should demand the post of Daroghah-i-Dewan-i Khas and Mir Atish before Hussain Ali's departure for the court for an audience with the Emperor. Besides, the Emperor should be asked to pass orders for the return of Raja Jai Singh and Maharao Budh Singh Hada to their respective native states. The Emperor finding his position hopeless agreed to the demands of the Sayyid Brothers and accordingly orders were issued asking Raja Jai Singh and Maharao Budh Singh Hada to return to their respective jagirs.<sup>37</sup> While Raja Jai Singh returned Amber safely, his brother-in-law, Maharao Budh Singh Hada had to face a difficult time in Delhi before his departure. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada connived with the Sayyid Brothers to kill Maharao Budh Singh. His death would remove one supporter of the Emperor and help Maharao Bhim Singh to fulfil his desire to reoccupy the territories of Bundi without any difficulty.

On 22nd February, 1719 A.D., Maharao Bhim Singh Hada attacked Maharao Budh Singh Hada. A terrific battle took place between the two Chiefs. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada having the support of the Sayyid Brothers easily overpowered his opponent. His army inflicted heavy casualties on the forces of Maha-

36. *Later Mughals*, i, 374.

37. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 806; *Later Mughals*, i, 374-76; *The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 139-40.

rao Budh Singh Hada. The latter was defeated and lost his Diwan. However, Maharao Budh Singh Hada managed to escape and joined Raja Jai Singh in Amber.<sup>38</sup>

It is interesting to note that Maharao Budh Singh, after his defeat in Delhi, went to Amber instead of going to his native state Bundi. The reason could be that Maharao Budh Singh Hada might have anticipated an attack of the joint forces of Maharao Bhim Singh and the Sayyid Brothers and therefore, he might have gone there to seek help from Raja Jai Singh. The other reason could be that Maharao Budh Singh Hada who himself was very weak, might have been frightened by his defeat and he straight away went to the Raja to seek his shelter as he might have expected that Maharao Bhim Singh Hada would pursue him.

After the departure of both the important supporters of the Emperor, the plan to depose the Emperor was finalised. On 27th February, 1719 A.D. Qutub ul Mulk entered the palace. He was accompanied by Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, Maharaja Ajit Singh Rathor and Raja Gaj Singh. The guards of the palace were replaced by the trusted men of the Sayyid Brothers and posts were established near about the palace. The Emperor was terrified and he again made an unsuccessful bid to reconcile the Sayyid Brothers. When every attempt of the Emperor failed, he hide himself in the harem and did not come out. On 28th February, 1719 A.D., the Sayyid Brothers ordered their men to enter the harem and take possession of the person of the Emperor. Accordingly, a few men entered the harem where they had to face the resistance of the women but the women failed to save the Emperor from the clutches of the opponents. The Emperor

38. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 806; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3065; *Later Mughals*, 376; *Tod*, ii, 392. M. L. Sharma mentions that the battle between the two Hada Chiefs took place after the deposition of Farrukh Siyar—*Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 267-68. The events which took place during that period clearly shows that this battle preceeded the deposition of the Emperor. Secondly, the battle took place on 22nd February, 1719 A.D. whereas the Emperor was deposed on 28th February, 1719 A.D. Thus the chronology of events as mentioned by Sharma is wrong.

was dragged out from there and was arrested. Later on, he was put to death.<sup>39</sup>

The deposition of Farrukh Siyar was followed by the accession of Rafi ud Darjat on 28th February, 1719 A.D. which again brought about the change in the position and power of the Chiefs of Bundi and Kotah. Maharao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi who remained on the side of Farrukh Siyar and allied himself with Raja Jai Singh was deprived of his power. On the other side Maharao Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah who had very wisely associated himself with the Sayyid Brothers gained their favours and consequently that of the Emperor which he continued to enjoy till his death in 1720 A.D.

Soon after the accession of Rafi ud Darjat, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, Maharaja Ajit Singh and Raja Ratan Chand appealed to the Emperor to abolish the Jaziya. The Emperor immediately granted their appeal.<sup>40</sup> This was the first success of the Rajput which shows their dominance over the new Emperor.

The services of Maharao Bhim Singh were utilised by the Sayyid Brothers against Nekusiyar.<sup>41</sup> He was a prisoner in the fort of Agra since the time of Aurangzeb. Raja Jai Singh, after the accession of Rafi ud Darjat, planned to raise Nekusiyar as the rival Emperor. He managed to take him out of the fort and proclaimed him Emperor on 29th Jammadi ul Sani, 1131 A.H./8th May, 1719 A.D. at Agra. He wrote to Chabela Ram, Chatra Sal Bundela and Maharao Bhim Singh Hada to send forces for the assistance of the newly proclaimed Emperor.<sup>42</sup> It is strange that Raja Jai Singh knowing it well that Maharao Bhim Singh was in close association with the Sayyid Brothers—the makers of the rulers—requested him to support the cause of Nekusiyar. It is likely that the Raja might have tried to dissuade Maharao Bhim Singh Hada from the Sayyid Brothers but Maharao Bhim Singh Hada who had become favourite of the Sayyid Brothers

39. *Mutakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 806-15; *Later Mughals*, 379-89.

40. *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, ii, 615; *Later Mughals*, i, 404.

41. Nekusiyar was the eldest surviving son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, son of Emperor Aurangzeb. After the revolt of Prince Akbar, Aurangzeb kept his family in confinement in the fort of Agra.

42. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 827.

continued to remain on their side. The Nazim of Agra thus was faced with a difficult situation. This news reached Delhi on 1st Rajab, 1131 A.H./9th May, 1719 A.D. The Sayyid Brothers, therefore, sent a force under Maharao Bhim Singh Hada and Churaman Jat<sup>43</sup> which was followed by the march of Sayyid Hussain Ali on 23rd June, 1719 A.D. By that time Emperor Rafi ud Darjat had been deposed and Rafi ud Daulah was enthroned on 20th Rajab, 1131 A.H./28th May, 1719 A.D.<sup>44</sup>

After the departure of Hussain Ali to Agra, Abdulla Khan learned that Raja Jai Singh had proceeded to hold Nekusiyar. It is likely that Maharao Budh Singh who was with the Raja might have accompanied him. Abdulla Khan, therefore, started from Delhi to deal with the Raja. The Wazir was accompanied by the Emperor. When they reached Fatehpur Sikri, Hussain Ali sent the message that they should not march beyond Agra as he had blocked the march of the Raja. Finding himself weak against the Sayyid Brothers, Nekusiyar surrendered himself on 27th Ramzan, 1131 A.H./2nd August, 1719 A.D.<sup>45</sup> The Emperor who had gone to Agra with Abdulla Khan could not survive long. He fell ill and died on 4th Zilqadah, 1131 A.H./7th November 1719 A.D. at Bidyapur.<sup>46</sup>

The death of Rafi ud Daulah was followed by the accession of Roshan Akhtar<sup>47</sup> to the throne on 11th Zilqadah, 1131 A.H./14th September, 1719 A.D. under the title of Abul Fath, Nasiruddin Mohammad Shah Badshah Gazi.<sup>48</sup> In the beginning of his reign, the governor of Allahabad, Chabela Ram, being dissatisfied with the Sayyid Brothers revolted. An army was sent to deal with the rebel. Chabela Ram died soon and thereafter, his nephew Girdhar Bahadur took the field against the Imperialists. Meanwhile, Maharao Budh Singh Hada who in alliance with Raja Jai Singh failed to instal Nekusiyar as the

43. *ibid.*, 828.

44. *ibid.*, 831.

45. *Later Mughals*, i, 422-30.

46. *ibid.*, 430-31.

47. Prince Roshan Akhtar was the son of Khujista Akhtar Jahan Shah, son of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

48. *Later Mughals*, ii, 1-2.

Emperor, planned to create trouble in the Empire. He instigated the Bundelas to rise in revolt against the Imperialists.<sup>49</sup> The Maharao also sent his own force to assist Girdhar Bahadur. The Imperial generals Abdul Nabi and Haidar Quli did not act in union and this provided an opportunity to Maharao Budh Singh's forces to enter the fort of Allahabad easily.<sup>50</sup> The imperialists, therefore, failed to crush the rebellion of the Bundelas. However, Girdhar Bahadur surrendered the fort after some negotiations.<sup>51</sup>

The assistance that was given by Maharao Budh Singh Hada to the rebel governor of Allahabad infuriated the Sayyids. They decided to punish him by depriving him of his jagir. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah who was with them was to be rewarded for his services and therefore, they granted him the entire jagir of Bundi.<sup>52</sup>

Maharao Bhim Singh Hada was then ordered to march against Bundi. At the request of the Chief of Kotah, Dost Muhammad Khan, Afghan of Malwa was given a high mansab and placed under his command. Besides, Dilawar Khan and Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar were also appointed with the Chief of Kotah. Maharao Bhim Singh was instructed to remain on the borders of Kotah with the army sent against Bundi to watch the developments in Malwa where Nizam ul Mulk was showing signs of revolt against the Imperialists. Maharao Bhim Singh Hada was asked to assist the Imperialists against Nizam ul Mulk.<sup>53</sup> He was promised that after the victory over the Nizam he would be raised to the high dignity of Maharaja so that after Maharaja Ajit Singh he would be higher in rank than all other

49. *ibid.*, 5.

50. *ibid.*, 6-12.

51. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 846, *ibid.*, 15.

52. *Later Mughals*, ii, 5.

53. Nizam ul Mulk was a turban exchanged brother (*pugri badal bhai*) of Maharao Bhim Singh. He sent a friendly letter to the Maharao and requested him to desist himself from the battle. But he remained firm on the side of the Sayyid Brothers as he had already been benefited by them and expected to get more benefits from them. He replied, "He knew the line between friendship and duty; he was

rajas and he would be given a mansab of 7000 zat and 7000 sawar with fish banner.<sup>54</sup>

The promise that the Sayyid Brothers made to Maharao Bhim Singh Hada shows that they had great reliance on him, and through them he was already occupying a high position and honour in the Mughal court.

On 5th Muharram, 1132 A.H./7th November, 1719 A.D., Maharao Bhim Singh Hada marched against Bundi. When he reached Mathura he became a follower of Vallabhachari Sect. He lived in seclusion for about fifteen days. During that period rumours floated about his death causing some confusion in his court at Kotah. Salim Singh who had been looking after the affairs of Bundi in the absence of Maharao Budh Singh, wanted to avail this opportunity. He marched to Kotah and started plundering it. In Kotah, during the absence of Maharao Bhim Singh, the affairs were being handled by Ajaib Singh of Koila who prepared himself for battle with Salim Singh.<sup>55</sup>

Maharao Bhim Singh Hada when appraised of the situation, left Mathura and marched to Kotah. A fierce battle took place in which Salim Singh was defeated. He, then fled to Bundi.<sup>56</sup>

Maharao Bhim Singh Hada afterwards prepared for an attack on Bundi. The joint forces of Kotah and the Imperialists under the command of Maharao Bhim Singh Hada attacked Bundi in February, 1720 A.D. The forces of Bundi under the command of the uncle of Maharao Budh Singh Hada met the army of Kotah which was assisted by the Imperial army. In the battle that ensued, the uncle of Maharao Budh Singh Hada was killed. The army of Bundi, after his death, could not stand against the mighty force of Maharao Bhim Singh Hada.

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commanded to intercept him, and had advanced for that purpose; it was the King's order ; fight him he must and next morning would attack him."

54. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 843-44, 846, 851.

55. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3071-72 ; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 269-71; *Malwa in Transition*, 135-36.

56. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3072-74; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 271-72; *Malwa in Transition*, 136.

They were defeated. The news of this victory was communicated to the Imperial court on 12th February, 1720 A.D.<sup>57</sup> Maharao Bhim Singh, after conquering Bundi, gave it to his foster brother Bhagwan Das.<sup>58</sup>

By the time Bundi was conquered, Nizam ul Mulk had prepared himself for any confrontation with the Sayyid Brothers. He crossed Narbada on 1st Rajab, 1132 A.H./28th April, 1720 A.D.<sup>59</sup> Dilawar Khan, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada and Raja Gaj Singh, after subjugating Bundi, marched into Malwa.<sup>60</sup> The Nizam hearing the march of the Imperial army under Dilawar Khan sent his family into the fort of Asirgarh which had already been conquered by him and he himself set out to meet the army of the Mughals. The battle between the two forces took place on 13th Shaban, 1132 A.H./10th June, 1720 A.D.<sup>61</sup> The Imperialist failed to achieve success. The Nizam had won over the subedar of Burhanpur. The Sayyid Brothers, therefore, pressed Dilawar Khan and Maharao Bhim Singh Hada to engage the Nizam.<sup>62</sup> In the early stages of the battle that ensued Ghiyas Khan and Iwaz Khan—the two generals of the Nizam had to retire before the sever attack of the Imperial generals—Sher Khan and Babar Khan, but later on Sher Khan and Babar Khan were killed and Dilawar Khan was hit by a musket-ball which brought his end too. This created confusion in the Imperial army. However, the Rajput Chiefs Maharao Bhim Singh Hada and Raja Gaj Singh kept their ground till Maharao Bhim Singh Hada was killed.<sup>63</sup> Irvine had described the battle

57. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 851; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3074-75; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 115; *Later Mughals*, ii, 6; *Kotah Rajya ka Itihas*, i, 289. M. L. Sharma mentions that Maharao Bhim Singh had already conquered Bundi before the Imperial army was sent to assist him. This army was sent simply to frighten Salim Singh who was still planning to recover Bundi. But the events that took place clearly shows that the Chief of Kotah conquered Bundi with the help of the Imperial forces.

58. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3079.

59. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 852.

60. *ibid.*, 859.

61. *ibid.*, 860.

62. *ibid.*, 866-67.

63. *ibid.*, 876-80; *Maasir ul Umra*, ii, 324; *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3078-79; Tod—*op. cit.*, 412.

fought and the bravery shown by the Rajput Chiefs specially Maharao Bhim Singh Hada in the following ways :

"Ghiyas Khan, commanding Nizam ul Mulk's vanguard, was attacked by Bhim Singh, Gaj Singh and 'Be-dost Rohela' (Dost Muhammad Khan), while Sayyid Sher Khan, Babar Khan and Fathe Khan turned against Iwaz Khan. Gaj Singh and Bhim Singh Hada dismounted and at the head of two thousand Rajputs fought hand to hand, breast to breast. Quresh Beg Khwaja Masum, and a few others resisted, but they were hardly more than a pinch of salt in flour, Against two thousand male clad Rajputs what were forty men ! Bhim Singh and Quresh Beg fought in single combat; then some forty Rajputs attacked the latter. In spite of these odds the Beg succeeded in killing Bhim Singh before he fell himself under numberless wounds. The bodies of the Rajputs lay piled on the top of each other."<sup>64</sup>

The death of Maharao Bhim Singh Hada brought an end to further increase in the power of Kotah. During his life-time he expanded his territories beyond Kotah. Besides the occupation of Bundi, he took over Rajgarh, Narsinghgarh, Raghugarh Khelichpur, Naya Qila, Shahbad, Gagraun, Bhavargarh, Khandela, Umri, Bhadora, Digidoli, Vasai, Chachurni, Gangdhar, Dang, Pandva, Asvar, Sunara, Bhanpur, Baraud and Sanreja.<sup>65</sup> Surya Mal Misrn mentions that Maharao Bhim Singh Hada had planned to carve out an independent kingdom in Malwa for himself at the states of Bundi, Kotah and Baraud were to be assigned to each of his sons.<sup>66</sup>

After the death of Maharao Bhim Singh, Bhagwan Das could not retain Bundi. He anticipated an attack from Maharao Budh Singh and therefore, himself handed over the entire territory of Bundi to Salim Singh who had returned from Jhalaya.<sup>67</sup>

64. *Later Mughals*, ii, 33.

65. *Kotah Rajya ka Itikas*, i, 299.

66. *Vansh Bhashkar*, iv, 3075.

67. *ibid.*, 3079.

Even at this time, Maharao Budh Singh Hada did not come to Bundi. He had been staying with Raja Jai Singh at Amber but after his quarrel with him<sup>68</sup> he went to Begu where he died later, on 26th April, 1739 A.D.

The events narrated for the period from 1707 to 1720 A.D. throw light on two aspects. Firstly, the loyalty of Maharao Budh Singh Hada towards the Mughal Emperors upto 1719 A.D. and secondly, the rise in the position of Maharao Bhim Singh Hada. The earlier period from 1707 to 1712 A.D. was very favourable to Maharao Budh Singh Hada who received all benefits from the Emperor. Besides receiving an increase in his mansab, he received in grant the entire jagir held by Maharao Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah. But he himself was weak enough to avail of the opportunity that came to him. During the early years of Farrukh Siyar's reign, Maharao Budh Singh Hada could not find favours of the Emperor and was deprived of his jagir, but he gained favours in 1716 A.D. and retrieved his lost position. Thereafter, he remained close to the Emperor and upto the last moment of the deposition of the Emperor he stood loyal to him. He remained loyal so blindly to the Emperor that he could not visualized the changing political condition of the Empire and he did not adjust himself in that changed conditions. The Maharao could not find favours of Muhammad Shah as he was under the domination of the Sayyid Brothers who were opposed to the Maharao.

68. Maharao Budh Singh was not in good terms with his wife who was the sister of Raja Jai Singh of Amber. When after his defeat at Delhi, Maharao Budh Singh reached Amber, the Raja brought before him his son from the Princess of Amber. The Maharao refused to accept the boy as his son. He told him that he was impotent for the last 12 years and as such the boy was illegitimate and therefore, should be killed. He further said that he was prepared to adopt any one who was acceptable to the Raja. The Raja killed the boy and asked him to adopt Dalel Singh, son of Salim Singh. The Maharao accordingly, adopted Dalel Singh—Tod—*op. cit.*, 392; *Vir Vinod*, ii, 116. From the events during 1719-20 A.D. we find that the Maharao was with Raja Jai Singh in February, 1720 A.D. when he helped the Raja in his bid to raise Nekusiyar to the throne. Therefore, this incident should be after February, 1720 A.D.

The second aspect is that Maharao Bhim Singh Hada increased his power and position during this period. He always remained vigilant towards the political changes that were taking place during that period. He was never discouraged even if he did not get the favours of the Emperor. He availed of every opportunity that came in his way. He always remained opportunist and did not hesitate to join hands with the nobles like the Sayyid Brothers against the Emperor if that was to be advantageous to him. It was by this policy of exploiting the situation that he received a high position in the Mughal court and was raised to the mansab of 5000 zat and 4000 sawar—2000 sawar do aspa sih aspa. Besides, he also received the grant of the entire jagir of Maharao Budh Singh Hada which he held from 1713 to 1716 A.D. and from February 1720 till his death in June, 1720 A.D. The jagir of Bundi was returned to Maharao Budh Singh Hada soon after the death of Maharao Bhim Singh. Thus we find that the Emperors encouraged the two Hada Chiefs to fight against each other and after a tussle of about 13 years, the Chiefs of both the states—Bundi and Kotah held their respective hereditary jagirs again and thus it can be said that with the death of Maharao Bhim Singh normalcy returned in Hadauti.

## Conclusions

A study of the relations of the Hadas with the Mughal Emperors is both interesting and informative. It throws light on the character of the Hadas, their problems in the political set up, the sense of loyalty of the Rajputs towards the throne and lastly the attitude of the Mughal Emperors towards the Rajputs. The findings as discussed in the various chapters of this dissertation yield the following conclusions on the aspects mentioned above.

The Hadas, an offshoot of the Chauhans, migrated from Nadol and established themselves in the Pathar region. It was in the Pathar region that the Hada Chief captured Bundi from the Meenas in 1341 A.D. and made it their seat of power. In the early stages of their settlement and expansion of their territory the Hadas did not permit their conscious to be tormented by the scruples of conduct and they adopted all possible means including treachery to annihilate the local tribes inhabiting the region as illustrated in the case of Rao Dewa and Jaitra Singh, son of Samar Singh.

No doubt the Hadas were brave warriors but they had scanty resources at their command with the result that the

neighbouring states of Mewar and Malwa always tried to bring them under their control. The constant pressure of these two states taught the Hadas the lesson of expediency and whenever hardpressed by any of the two states they accepted their suzerainty, but no sooner the back of the suzerain was turned towards them they again established their independence. Thus we find that they fully understood the method of utilising an opportunity, both in accepting the subordination and in throwing it off. It also reveals that the Hadas were a brave and freedom loving Rajput community and kept on submitting and fighting alternatively with their neighbouring states during the period from 1341 to 1568 A.D.

The year 1569 proved to be a turning point for the Hadas. By that time Mughal Emperor Akbar had already subjugated a large number of Rajput Chiefs and had also won over to his side some of them. Thus in 1568 A.D. when Akbar launched his attack on Ranthambhor Rajputs like Bhagwant Das, Man Singh etc. were in his camp. Rao Surjan, the Hada Chief, of course had prepared himself fully for all emergency but he soon realised the superior might of the Mughal Emperor and the futility of continued resistance which was bound to result in the end in complete destruction of the Hadas. He, therefore, submitted to the Mughal Emperor and entered into the Imperial service. However, Dauda the eldest son of Rao Surjan, had a different approach to life and did not reconcile himself to the position of subordination. He rose in revolt against the Imperial authority in 1577 A.D. and continued his fight against it till his death in 1585 A.D. In his fight against the Imperial power, he was neither supported by his father, Rao Surjan Hada and brother Bhoj, nor by any other Rajput Chief. He had to fight single-handedly with his scanty resources against the Imperialists, with the result that he could not fulfil his desire to achieve independence and he died as a rebel. He may be regarded as the last of the freedom loving Hadas. Thereafter, none of the Hada Princes ever thought to fight for independence.

The Hadas, after their submission to the Mughals in

1569 A.D. served the Imperialists loyally. They always obeyed the Imperial orders and they never did anything to annoy the Emperor. In obeying the Imperial orders they even did not hesitate to give up the conditions laid down at the time of their submission. They marched across Attock to serve the Emperor forgetting that Rao Surjan had laid down the condition that the Hadas would not cross Attock. Not only this, the Hada Chiefs never annoyed the Emperor on any issue even when the Emperor interfered in their internal matters. Rao Bha Singh Hada who had no issue, adopted Kishan Singh but at the instance of Emperor Aurangzeb he disowned him and adopted Kishan Singh's son Anurudh Singh. This clearly reveals that the Hada Chiefs always tried to keep the Emperor pleased at every cost.

The Hadas always stood for the defence of the throne under all circumstances. Such loyalty of the Hada Chiefs is clearly revealed from the cases of Rao Satar Sal Hada and Maharao Budh Singh Hada. On the eve of the rebellion of the three princes—Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, during the reign of Shahjahan, Rao Satar Sal Hada on receiving farman from the Emperor returned from the Deccan to the Imperial court even when Aurangzeb put obstacles in his way. Knowing it well that he could be harmed by Aurangzeb, he preferred to obey the Imperial orders as a mark of loyalty. Similarly, Maharao Budh Singh remained loyal to Emperor Farrukh Siyar even at the crisis. In the political upheaval during the period from 1716 to 1719 A.D., Maharao Budh Singh remained true to his salt and gave full support to the Emperor against the powerful Sayyid Brothers. At that time he did not care to understand the political situation but blindly remained loyal to the Emperor. This loyalty proved costly for him as he was deprived of his state in 1719 A.D. The only Hada Chief who maintained strained relation with the Emperor was Maharao Bhim Singh Hada of Kotah and that too for a brief period (from 1716 to 1719 A.D.). He was the only Chief who could exploit the situation and he played an important role in the politics of the Mughal court and he received benefits. He not only received the mansab of 5000 but also received in grant

the entire jagir of Maharao Budh Singh Hada. He was also promised a high mansab of 7000 zat and 7000 sawar; title of Maharaja and a seat next to Maharaja Ajit Singh Rathor in the court. But he could not enjoy this position because he died fighting against Nizam ul Mulk. This study in its totality fully reveals that the Hada Chiefs remained loyal to the throne and never showed any annoyance or resentment against any order of the Emperor. They did not revolt against the Imperial power at any time as was done by some of the Rajput Chiefs.

In spite of the fact that the Hadas remained loyal to the Mughals they had to pay heavily for their loyalty. The Emperors could not see the Hadas united and as already discussed, Shahjahan divided the Hada region into two parts—Bundi and Kotah in 1631 A.D. each under a separate Chief. This division gradually led the two branches to become enemy of each other. This enmity was further intensified by the Emperors when they tossed to and fro a few parganas between them. Furthermore, during the period of later Mughals, the jagir of one Chief was transferred to the other and vice versa. Thus we find, that the Hadas in spite of their loyalty could not increase their power, and their territories were made a bone of contention between the two Hada Chiefs.

The Hadas from the time of their submission performed valuable services to the Mughal Emperors. They were sent in every campaign specially where the Imperialists were expected to face stiff resistance from the enemy. In every campaign they fought with great vigour and determination. They were kept mostly either in the vanguard or in the rearguard of the army. Their placement was subject to a particular situation of the place of campaign. In case the danger of the enemy appeared from the front, the Hadas were kept in the vanguard and if the danger was expected from behind, they were placed in the rearguard of the army. In other words they were always exposed to danger and brave as they were, they dealt with all the situations successfully and came out victorious. At no time we find them unsuccessful. The services of the Hada Chiefs,

Rao Ratan against the revolt of Prince Shahjahan; Madho Singh against the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi and Jujhar Singh Bundela and his valuable services in Central Asia are worth mentioning. Rao Satar Sal Hada rendered useful services in the Deccan and also in the rebellion of the three princes during the reign of Shahjahan. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the services of Rao Bha Singh Hada of Bundi in the Deccan and the services of Rao Anurudh Singh Hada when he saved the harem of Prince Azam can be mentioned specially. In the same period we find that Ram Singh Hada of Kotah also rendered noteworthy services. He showed undaunted courage in the conquest of the fort of Jinji. During the period from 1707 to 1720 A.D. though the Hadas remained loyal to the Mughal Emperors but there was no scope for them to render any service to their Emperor except to support the person on the throne. It was a period during which there was political instability and every Chief was trying to earn more and more power and position for himself.

The Hada Chiefs on their part rendered meritorious services, the Emperors on their part granted them mansab and jagir and increased it from time to time as a reward of their services. The following table shows the mansab of each of the Hada Chiefs granted at the time of entering into the Imperial service and the mansab held by him at the time of his death.

<i>Name of the Hada Chief</i>	<i>Initial mansab received</i>	<i>Maximum mansab received and the period during which held.</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
Rao Surjan Hada	2000 (1578 A.D.)	2000 (1585 A.D.)
Rao Bhoj Hada	900 (Year of granting not known)	900 (till 1608 A.D.)

(Contd.)

1	2	3
Rao Ratan Hada	1500 zat and 1240 sawar (1608 A.D.)	5000 zat & 5000 sawar. 1624 to 1631 A.D.)
Rao Satar Sal Hada	3000 zat & 2000 sawar (1631 A.D.)	4000 zat & 4000 sawar. (1649 to 1658 A.D.)
Madho Singh Hada	2500 zat & 1500 sawar (1631 A.D.)	3000 zat & 3000 sawar. (1642 to 1648 A.D.)
Mukund Singh Hada	2000 zat & 1500 sawar (1648 A.D.)	3000 zat & 2000 sawar. (1654 to 1658 A.D.)
Rao Bhao Singh Hada	3000 zat & 2000 sawar (1658 A.D.)	4000 zat & 2500 sawar. (1659 to 1678 A.D.)
Jagat Singh Hada	2000 zat & 1000 sawar (1658 A.D.)	2000 zat & 2000 sawar. (1678 to 1681 A.D.)
Bhagwant Singh Hada	2500 zat & 800 sawar (1658 A.D.)	2500 zat & 1500 sawar. (1660 A.D. Yr. of death not known)
Rao Anurudh Singh Hada	3500 zat & 3000 sawar	3500 zat & 3000 sawar. (1678 to 1695 A.D.)
Kishore Singh Hada	2500 zat & 3000 sawar	2500 zat & 3000 sawar. (1681 to 1696 A.D.)
Rao Budh Singh Hada	2500 zat & 1000 sawar (1695 A.D.)	3500 zat & 3500 sawar. (1707 to 1720 A.D.)

(Contd.)

<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
Ram Singh Hada	2000 zat & 1000 sawar (1696 A.D.)	2500 zat & 2500 sawar. (1706 to 1707 A.D.)
Maharao Bhim Singh Hada	1500 zat & 1500 sawar (1707 A.D.)	5000 zat & 4000 sawar—2000 do aspa sih aspa (1713-1720 A.D.)

From the above table it may be observed that Rao Ratan Hada (1608 to 1631 A.D.) rose from a mansab of 1500 zat and 1240 sawar to 5000 zat and 5000 sawar in a period of 16 years (the mansab of 5000 was granted to him in 1624 A.D.) and he held it till his death in 1631 A.D. and Maharao Bhim Singh Hada rose from a mansab of 1500 zat and 1500 sawar to 5000 zat and 4000 sawar in 13 years. No other Hada Chief reached the mark of 5000. Even Rao Satar Sal Hada who served the Imperialists for a period of 29 years and laid down his life in defence of the throne did not reach upto that mark while some Rajput Chiefs during that period even reached upto the level of 6000.

It is interesting to note that while the Hada Chiefs had served the Mughals with great sincerity and devotion they did not receive the mansab they deserved. The Hada Chiefs started their career from a low mansab of 2000 or 2500 on an average and the subsequent increase in their mansab was at a slower rate than in the case of some of the other Rajput Chiefs. The Hada Chiefs were never given any high administrative post like that of subedari. The highest post granted to them is found in the case of Rao Ratan Hada who was made the faujdar of Burhanpur in 1621 A.D. and Rao Bhao Singh Hada who was appointed as faujdar of Aurangabad. Except Rao Ratan Hada who was appointed as the commander of the

army in Telingana in 1630 A.D. for a very short period, no other Hada Chief was ever given the chief command of the army in any campaign. During the same period, the other Rajput Chiefs specially the Kachhwaha and the Rathors enjoyed a higher status and rank though they did not render more valuable service than the Hada Chiefs. There is no explanation anywhere as to why there was so much discrimination in the grant of mansabs to the Rajput Chiefs and what actually was the principle of granting it. Though it is generally accepted that the mansabs were granted on the basis of the services rendered by the Chiefs but in these cases we find that this principle was not adhered to. While the Hada Chiefs served the Imperialists in right earnest with loyalty and faithfulness, they did not receive mansabs equal to those of the Chiefs of Rathors and Kachhwahas whose services were definitely not superior to those of the Hadas. It clearly indicates that the military services was not the main criteria in granting mansab and jagir. On the basis of the rank held by the other Rajput Chiefs we can deduce that the following could have been the basis for granting mansabs and jagirs to the Rajput Chiefs. Firstly, social hierarchy, secondly the power and resources of a particular Chief and thirdly ability of the Chief to exploit the situation in the changing time. These were the basis which determined the mansabs, jagirs and position of the Rajput Chiefs. The Kachhwahas and the Rathors possessed one or the other qualities and that was why they occupied important places in the Mughal court. Mostly the Chiefs of these clans started with the mansabs of 4000 and rose to the position of 6000 and even 7000. On the other hand none of the Hada Chiefs except Maharao Bhim Singh had these qualities and therefore, they remained at lower in rank and status. Maharao Bhim Singh, however, had the ability to exploit a situation and therefore, as explained above, he occupied an important position in the Mughal court and played an important part in the Mughal politics. Similarly we find that the Hada Chiefs were sent in almost every campaign and were regarded as the backbone of the Imperial army but they were never appointed as chief commanders of the army at any time.

To conclude we can say that the Chiefs of the Hadas after submitting to the Mughals served the Emperors with great loyalty. They poured forth their blood in the defence of the Empire. They rendered so much valuable services that it will not be an exaggeration to say that they played an important part in enlarging and maintaining the Mughal Empire. In return of these services they did not receive the place in the Mughal court they deserved. Rather they were kept at a lower rank and position than some of the other Rajput Chiefs like the Rathors and the Kachhawahas mainly because neither they had a higher social status in Rajputana nor possessed power and resources. They even did not have the ability to exploit the situation. The infinching loyalty of the Hadas, without a corresponding reward, was probably more because of their ability to understand the course of history than the mere Rajput sense of loyalty to salt. In the course of their relations with the Mughal Emperors they had realised that their existence and benefits—however small they may be—lay in their adherence to the "Mughal Throne" or else their annihilation was certain.

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